

THEODORE OF TARSUS: ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, A.D.668-690

A Thesis

by

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PREFACE

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM: ITS SCOPE

Definition of the Problem.

Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668-690, was one of the truly great figures in the history of the early English Church. That he occupied a position of prominence in the foundation and development of the basic structure of the Church in England has always been recognized by historians of the expansion of Christianity in the British Isles. That no historian, either ancient or modern, has ever seen fit to occupy himself with the production of a full biography of Archbishop Theodore is, however, little less than anomalous, especially when it is realized how often and how thoroughly the age of Bede has been worked during the last century. To supply such a biographical monograph and thus close a rather baffling hiatus in the study of English Church history is the initial purpose of the present student.

Since no biography of Theodore has yet been produced, such an omission might at first be taken as a suggestion that this seventh-century ecclesiastic was a character unworthy of such a literary effort. Yet, the high reputation created by the passing references of

chroniclers and the lavish praise bestowed by them upon this dominant figure from the east who providentially appeared upon the English scene is sufficient to dissolve such an insinuation. Again, taking note of Theodore's personal quarrels with one of his outstanding bishops, it may be hinted that partisans of this persistent trouble-maker sabotaged whatever early efforts may have been directed toward the historical canonization of Archbishop Theodore. This suggestion is seen to be quite plausible when the evidence is examined, yet no sound weighing of the facts can deduce positive proof of either the purposeful suppression or the destruction of evidence which might contribute a more complete picture of the first and only Greek archbishop of Canterbury.

Gradation of Source Materials.

A search for and examination of available source materials has constituted the initial task of this project. Materials for the average biography may be catalogued as details of life (usually to be found in the contemporary civil and ecclesiastical archives and often labeled "vital statistics"), personal letters or literary efforts, the testimony of contemporary friends either in correspondence or posthumous eulogy, and the judge-

ments of later historians. In the case of Theodore, however, we are faced with a situation in which vital statistics are preserved only incompletely by chroniclers of a later generation; personal letters and literary efforts are confined to dubious charters, edited synodal decisions, and a penitential which at best is the product of an immediate disciple or secretarial associate; while the testimony of contemporary friends is entirely lacking with two exceptions, a prejudiced discussion of a most complicated controversy with a subordinate bishop and a general remark of esteem by a contemporary--and this estimate is tucked away in the Roman Liber Pontificalis--while the testimony of later chroniclers and historians contributes a rather ambiguous but strangely enough steady stream of enthusiastic praise. Under the circumstances, a more than ordinary sifting of possible evidence and a somewhat more detailed classification of source materials has been found expedient.

An initial classification of primary sources may be subdivided as (1) the writings of Theodore, (2) contemporary or near-contemporary "lives" or chronicles, and (3) the testimony of contemporary ecclesiastical archives. All other evidence, although at times suggesting direct lineage from primary sources,

must necessarily be classified as secondary. In this category may be listed (1) the later chronicles, (2) hagiography, (3) 'period' evidence such as the circumstantial testimony of architectural and monumental remains, (4) biographical articles of modern historians, and (5) dissertations or research articles by modern scholars dealing with related problems.

The gleaning of vital statistics and more general biographical information and the evaluation of the literary contribution of Archbishop Theodore, and, indeed, the making of any estimate upon his wider contribution to the foundation and organization of the English Church presupposes acute literary criticism of his writings and the establishing of some body of historical manuscripts which may be employed as a base of literary operations. Fortunately for the present student, much of this ground-work has been done in the form of the recognized compendia of source materials produced by Hadden and Stubbs, Liebermann, Wasserschleben, and Finsterwalder on the one hand, and on the other hand, the universally acclaimed works of the Venerable Bede--the primary literary source for authentic information on the foundation and early history of that institution which he himself called Ecclesia Anglorum. That there has ap-

parently never been a successful attempt to read these materials with the idea of throwing more light upon the figure of Theodore of Tarsus and his position in the course of English Church history as a person deserving of more than passing reference constitutes the occasion of this dissertation.

A cursory examination of those materials which we have placed in a category of secondary sources is revealing on two scores. First, it is discovered that either none of these later attempts to chronicle the life of Archbishop Theodore as an integral unit of a larger historical survey has been overly concerned with a critical examination of primary sources, or secondly, in those cases where more extended treatment of Theodore has been attempted, whatever original contributions are discernible are more often than not the perpetuation of earlier exaggeration and generalisation and in some cases of sheer imagination. One notable exception in these cases is the admirable entry by Bishop Stubbs in the Dictionary of Christian Biography. But here we are reading the product of pure, direct, historical research and although this essay is a superb contribution to an encyclopedia of Christian biography, the study is inadequate in that no concerted attempt has been made to see Archbishop

Theodore in the wider context of seventh-century Christian expansion in Britain or in the light of more recent information gained in the historical and critical investigation of source materials during the present century. For the latter omission, no censure can be directed toward the late Bishop Stubbs. Rather does such a survey of more modern historical treatment, often in large measure indebted to such giants of historical criticism as the late Bishop of Oxford and Canon Bright, indicate the present need for a concerted attempt to enter into the fruits of their labours and fill up such an annoying historical gap by the production of a study which may not only have some ^{5.}pretention to furnish the facts on the life and work of Theodore of Canterbury but will attempt to see him both within the context of seventh-century developments and as judged by the tempering influence of an historical perspective.

This study, however, can only be regarded a biography in the wide usage of that word, for the task which we have set before us will attempt to see the English Church of the seventh century through the career of Archbishop Theodore as much as it will attempt to discover Theodore from the marks which his administrative genius left upon that Church. In the ordinary sense of

the word, then, this study is not strict biography. Absence of adequate literary materials simply makes impossible the production of a genuine biography. Lack of evidence, for instance, precludes the usual discussion of the individual's ancestry, his home life, and the narration of interesting anecdotes of childhood and adolescence. No historically-minded photographer was at hand to catch the great archbishop at each stage of his career nor had enthusiasm for the graphic arts reached such a stage that likenesses of the early English primates were preserved for posterity. In short, we find that we are deprived of the usual interesting and intimate character study which more detailed information might make possible. How rewarding, for example, would be a few pages from a journal by Theodore wherein he might tell us of his reactions to Abbot Hadrian's nomination of him for the apostolate in Britain and the papal conditions of his appointment. Yet we possess neither diary nor stenographic reports of such possible soliloquies or private conversations. The major testimony must come from later ecclesiastical writers who because relatively near the scene in point of time were enabled to observe the contributions Theodore made toward the ordering of the Christian Church in England. Thus, although in general

spirit a biographical study, this project must entail a critical appraisal of Church organisation, faith, and practice in the Age of Theodore.

To achieve such a critique, the writer has set seven collateral problems which heretofore have apparently not been treated in surveys of the period, or if investigated, have never been specifically correlated with the life and work of Theodore. Answers to these questions should provide the flesh for the skeletal figure of Theodore which the early chroniclers have left us. The suggested questions are as follows:

1. What were the contemporary political and ecclesiastical problems bearing upon Theodore's migration from Greece to Naples?
2. What was the status of Eastern ceremonial and disciplinary practice in Calabria, Naples, and Rome in 668?
3. What was the nature of episcopal functions in the seventh century?
4. How accurate an indicator of contemporary morality, and ecclesiastical discipline is the Penitential of Theodore?
5. What were the characteristics of Christian worship in the Theodoran Church?
6. What was the extent of Theodore's loyalty to the execution of his archiepiscopal commission as received from the Roman See?
7. What was the nature and extent of Eastern practice in England during the archiepiscopate of Theodore and how compatible was it with the Celtic and Roman practices?

Careful comparison of ecclesiastical practice before the Council of Whitby, A.D. 664, and that which prevailed, for instance, soon after the death of Theodore may in certain cases be almost as valuable in the light it throws upon the Greek archbishop as positive testimony from such a worthy historian as the Venerable Bede. Practices found in the time of archbishops Bertwald and Tatwin and not found before the arrival of Theodore would certainly indicate that they were introduced during the primacy of Theodore even if it be impossible to prove that he was their instigator or the main inspiration for their introduction.

Plan of Treatment.

After the introductory chapter which, by examining the state of the Augustinian mission, the problems of Celtic competition, the immediate findings of the Council of Whitby, and the collateral problems of political expediency, will attempt to provide an accurate description of Ecclesia Anglicana immediately following the year 664, we shall proceed with a chapter on Theodore of Tarsus in the role of oriental monk. This chapter will examine the meagre documentary evidence directly bearing upon the facts of Theodore's early life, and will try to see this oriental monk in the familiar setting of his

contemporary Tarsus, Athens, Naples, and Rome. After some transitional pages recounting the trip from Rome to Canterbury, Chapter Three will attempt to picture Theodore amidst the setting of an episcopal familia at Canterbury. Here the treatment will be confined to discovering the nature of an English bishop in the seventh century and to an appraisal of the Canterbury training school. Chapter Four will expand this picture by treating of Theodore's larger responsibilities as a provincial administrator. Provided with a picture of Theodore in magna--a picture which has often been outlined by the average chronicler--, a more detailed study may then be given to Theodore in the role of intimate parochial pastor to whom it fell to superintend problems of liturgical practice and to judge in matters of confessional penance. This is a feature which until now has only been treated with the most vague of generalisations. A brief final chapter will offer a summary evaluation of the study and in particular of Theodore's reputation as one of the greatest founding fathers of the Church of England. Several appendixes have been provided for ready access to material which, although pertinent to the biography which we have attempted, only would serve to clutter the earlier chapters and make impossible the pursuit of an historical and logical treat-

ment of Theodore himself.

Sincere thanks are due to the several scholars who from time to time have given the necessary incentive, guidance, and criticism for these studies and to the authorities and aids who have been so courteously helpful as the writer has sought the literary materials for the pursuit of his project in the libraries of New College and the University of Edinburgh, The Scottish National Library, the Library of the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

CHAPTER ONE

ECCLESIA ANGLICANA: A.D. 664

The purpose of this chapter is to set forth a brief yet critical view of the state of Christianity in Britain upon the arrival of Archbishop Theodore in the year 669. Although we have entitled this introductory survey "Ecclesia Anglicana: A.D. 664" (and thereby have not only singled out the events of a particular year as representative of the general status of the Christian cause in this island for a period of several decades but have suggested by use of this omnibus term that Christianity had achieved at least a modicum of ecclesiastical organization), our preliminary survey must necessarily take into account several events both antecedent and consequent to this critical year. Our discussion, then, will begin with an account of the introduction of the Augustinian Mission; it will proceed with an outline of the success of this expedition in the face of Celtic competition, interaction, and rivalry which came to a head in the important council at Whitby in 664; it will close with a summary of the several collateral problems of political expediency which made possible the appointment of Theodore of Tarsus to the archi-

episcopal see of Canterbury.

1. The State of the Augustinian Mission.

The mission of Saint Augustine of Canterbury represented the first serious attempt on the part of the Roman Church to extend the cause of Christianity into the British Isles. The story of that mission which arrived on these shores in the spring of A.D. 597 is a familiar one and has been classically preserved for posterity in the authoritative pages of the sympathetic and reasonably dependable Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede.¹ The plan for the expedition as laid down by Pope Gregory envisioned the establishing of two provinces or archdioceses, one at London, under Augustine with twelve suffragan bishops, and the other at York, also with twelve suffragans but under a primate of Augustine's appointment.² That this ambitious plan failed to be carried out is well known as is the fact that Augus-

1. Bede, HE, I, xxiii, xxiv, xxv. References such as the foregoing indicate Baedae Opera Historica as translated and edited for the Loeb Classical Library by J. E. King. References to Carolus PLUMMER, Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum Historiam Abbatum Epistolam as Ecgberctum una cum Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo, will usually be for purposes of citing Plummer's critical notes. Abbreviation will be Plummer, VPHE, plus the reference to the text of Bede. References to Vita Sanctorum Abbatum, are designated VSA, either edition.

2. Bede, HE, I, xxix.

tine for more or less practical considerations found it expedient to establish himself at Canterbury rather than at London. To an appreciable degree, Augustine and his companions met with success. If through his own lack of vision and perhaps an overly-inflated sense of personal pride, Augustine was unable to come to terms with the native British Church,³ he at least had been able to establish the seat of Roman ecclesiastical authority at Canterbury and to erect a number of significant buildings, remains of which survive to this day as monumental testimony of his accomplishments.⁴ The importance of these buildings for our purposes at the moment is the testimony they bear to the fairly substantial nature of the religious establishment which Augustine and his companions founded in Kent. A further point worthy of note is the fact that Augustine was building upon foundations which had already been laid, for his first venture in ecclesiastical construction was the restoration of the Church of Our Saviour which dated from the days of the Roman occupation. This was followed by the erection of the Monastery of Saints Peter and Paul

3. Bede, HE, II, ii.

4. G. Baldwin BROWN, The Arts in Early England, AEI, I, and A. W. CLAPHAM, English Romanesque Architecture Before The Conquest, ERAC, 16-25.

under the patronage of King Ethelbert.⁵

Some historians, particularly enthusiasts of the monastic movement, have been quick to label this establishment as the first beachhead of Benedictine monasticism in the British Isles. Such has been the assumption (often qualified to be sure) of the Rollandists, of T. E. Briggitt, Daniel Rock, the Count de Montalembert, and in fact nearly all the older scholars--whether Roman Catholic, Anglican, or Protestant--who have written on this particular period.⁶ Probably no more careful and thorough examinations of the origins of Benedictine monasticism have been made than those of the great scholars of Maria Laach, Germany, and in particular by Dom Stephanus Hilpisch who, likewise, prefers to view Augustine and his companions as representing an early form of Benedictinism.⁷ Yet, when all the facts have been examined, it must be admitted that the argument rests at best upon merely circumstantial evi-

5. Cf. Brown, AEI; Clapham, ERAC; and Bede, HE, I, xxxiii.

6. ROLLANDI, Acta Sanctorum, Acta. Sanct., May 26; T. E. BRIDGETT, A History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain, HHE; The Count de MONTALEMBERT, The Monks of The West (6 vols.), MOW, IV; Daniel ROCK, The Church of Our Fathers (4 vols.), COF, I.

7. Stephanus HILPISCH, Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums, GbM, 50ff.

dence. Saint Augustine and his companions may have been members of the Monastery of Saint Andrew near Rome; they also may have continued a form of the religious life upon settling down at Canterbury; that this was a conventual religious life, governed by a strict observance of the Benedictine Rule as later centuries knew it, remains to be proved. In his early researches into the origins of Benedictine monasticism, Hilpisch has clearly shown that the type of monasticism as later practised in western Europe did not suddenly appear upon the scene full blown. Rather did it have as one of its origins that somewhat natural growth of a semi-religious house around the Christian basilica of the typical Italian city.⁸ Bound only to a

8. Dom David KNOWLES, The Monastic Order in England, notes two patterns for this later development in the institutions characteristic of sixth-century monasticism in Italy. "Alongside of the monastic life described in the Rule and in the Dialogues of St. Gregory, there were in existence in Italy in the sixth century two...important varieties of the institute. The one was the type associated with the name of Cassiodorus, which though fundamentally in harmony with the Rule, was a life less simple in its organization and less exclusively spiritual and monastic in its aims, into which intellectual and utilitarian work of all kinds entered as an essential part of its programme. The other, which existed only in the great cities and above all in Rome, was the purely liturgical type, in which a body of monks acted as the choir and sometimes even as the clergy of one of the many basilicas of the City--among them were St. Peter's, the Lateran, and St. Paul's--and thus more nearly resembled a community of what were later called regular canons than the

cathedral church as assistants to an urban bishop in the pastoral care of a city-wide congregation, groups of clergy, some only in minor orders, often lived together and on several occasions a week (eventually daily) met for corporate worship within the basilica itself. That this was the practice in such cities as Rome, Rouen (Bishop Victoricius), Nola (Bishop Paulinus), Grabe (Bishop Felix), and Milan (Bishop Ambrose) is quite well known to the student of this period.⁹ That Augustine of Canterbury very naturally adapted this growing practice to his own needs in Kent seems fairly evident and Hilpisch does not hesitate to make this concession.¹⁰ Benedictine en-

monks of Monte Casino or Vivarium. Such monasteries were in existence in Rome in St. Benedict's day and their number grew steadily till it reached sixty. Both...came to adopt the Rule of St. Benedict." Cf. Dom J. CHAPMAN, St. Benedict and the Sixth Century, BSC, 88-110; F. H. DUDDEN, Gregory The Great, GTC, II, 109-173; Dom G. MORIN, Art. (1887), "Les monastères bénédictins de Rome au Moyen Age," Messenger des fidèles, IV (1887), 262ff; Dom I. SCHUSTER, "L'Opera del monachismo nella vita liturgica a Roma," Liber Sacramentorum, IS, V, 12-73, or Eng. tr. III, 14-73.

9. Hilpisch, GbM, 51, provides the following example of this practice. "Eusebius von Vercelli soll der erste gewesen sein, der die eigenartige Verbindung von Mönchtum und Klerus schuf und diese zwei Gegensätze mit ein ander verband. Er stand als Bischof diesem Konvent von Kleriker-Mönchen vor, lebte selber mit ihnen und vereinigete so die, 'monasterii-continencia' mit der 'disciplina ecclesiae'.... Sie beginnen täglich in Gemeinschaft das feierliche Gottslob und stellten den Chor ihre Kirche dar."

10. Hilpisch, GbM, 52. "Als besonder Liebhaber dieser

thusiast that he is, Dom Stephanus has at least pointed in the right direction. Yet, a clear understanding of this particular type of religious community will fail if confused with the ideals and more complete development of the Benedictine religious practice. Rather must these semi-formal, experimental, initial stages of the religious life be read in terms of the familia.¹¹ Fundamentally, the term familia denoted property, usually real estate, which was granted to a tribal lord for development either as he saw fit or as the terms of the original deed stipulated. Such was the underlying meaning of the term as employed by Bede in his Ecclesiastical History.¹² Although the word came to be applied to a dis-

Lebensweise erwies sich Augustine.... Sein Kloster wurde zu einer Pflanzschule von Klerikern und Bischöfen, denn unter Augustinus' trefflicher Leitung wurden hier würdige Männer für den Dienst des Altars ausgebildet."

11. Probably no single scholar has produced a more original and adequate study of this particular feature of early episcopal life than Miss. M. Deanesly, and it is to her investigation that this section is largely indebted. M. DEANESLY, A History of the Medieval Church, IHC, 31-50, and the chapter, "The Familia At Christchurch, Canterbury," pp.597-632 in A. G. LITTLE, and F. M. POWICKE (edd.), Essays In Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout, EIH.

12. Bede, HE, I, xxv; III, xxiv; IV, xiii, xvi, xxiii; I, xix; VSA, 4, 6. Cf. also William BRIGHT, Chapters of Early English Church History, IHC, 164, fn.6.

tinctly ecclesiastical institution, it is also a term which is known to the student of English constitutional history and in the present instance, and later as applied to the Theodoran community at Canterbury, should be understood against a background of the civil structure of society dominated by the tribal nobility of sixth- and seventh-century England. On this level, the familia, if not identical, at least had much in common with what J.E. A. Joliffe has described as a group of "young men of ambition, who had left kindred and attached themselves to the households of kings and nobles."¹³ These young men were called gesiths, "companions of the prince, and we hear of young men of royal birth who were content to serve as gesiths to leaders of established fame, and of young nobles bred up with king's sons to become their war-band." In civil life, the familia was apparently a very common institution, and carried with it certain implications of loyalty which were tantamount to blood-relationship. Of this, Joliffe goes on to say,

There can...be no question of conscious conflict between the principle of kinship and the principle of lordship. Both were relationships natural to a community where economic life was

13. J. E. A. JOLIFFE, The Constitutional History of Medieval England, CHES, 14.

non-competitive and action was governed by personal associations and loyalties. As natural they were accepted, and were favoured and advanced by the impersonal reaction of law and the conscious policy of the crown.... It would, perhaps, be rash to say that the tie of lord and man was regarded by way of conscious fiction as analogous to blood-relationship, but it was treated in practice as if it were, and the man was in effect taken into his lord's familia.¹⁴

In the religious community which Saint Augustine, by royal permission and grant, founded at Canterbury,¹⁵ we seem to have the older basilican episcopal familia transplanted to England within the civil framework of "a family of protected and commended dependents to whom the mundbora [in this case, a bishop] is not father but lord."¹⁴ With these modifications, the basilican familia became once again the usual norm for the organization of the bishop's immediate associates and, if true to type, Augustine retained most of his clerical companions within his own episcopal familia and this remained the most important and characteristic unit of clerical manpower until nearly the end of the first millennium of the Christian era. Beginning with the companions who had been brought with Augustine from Italy, the familia was re-

14. Joliffe, *CHESE*, 16f.

15. Bede, *HE*, I, xxvi.

plenished from time to time mostly with youths who showed some promise as possible candidates for the priesthood or at least for the minor orders. In the seventh century this entailed the setting up of a school wherein such recruits could be educated for, as Miss Deanesly has pointed out, after the barbarian invasions of the fifth century--and this was certainly true in the more distant provinces of the old Roman Empire--, the earlier Roman imperial system of schools had fallen into decay and thus if a bishop was to secure an ample supply of fit candidates for the service of the Church, it would be necessary for him to educate them himself. By a quite natural process of devolution, the episcopal order became once more a veritable ordo doctorum. Indeed, claims Miss Deanesly,

To the seventh century mind, the instruction of the clergy by the bishop in person was as important an element of his doctorate as the instruction of the laity by sermons. The bishop's 'cathedra' was as yet the only academic 'chair.'¹⁶

16. Deanesly, HMC, 32. Cf. also Deanesly, in Little, EKH, 7. "Gregory's answer to Augustine's query: 'Concerning bishops, what should be their manner of conversation toward their clergy?' shows plainly that the familia at Christ Church was to be secular, although in deference to the monastic training of all its original personnel, a communal life was to be followed similar to that enjoined by Augustine of Hippo."

The foundation at Canterbury, then, was not that of the later, well-ordered Benedictine monasticism. Rather was it the usual foundation of a basilica¹⁷ with its accompanying dwelling places for bishop and clergy, together with certain necessary facilities wherein might be taught some of the younger members of the community who would be gathered informally into the bishop's ever-widening household. Accordingly, the characteristic types of daily service rendered by the clergy thus associated are to be discovered within the context of a school and teaching-evangelizing mission instead of the typical Benedictine concept of the regulated choir offices of prayer and meditation which constituted the usual opus Dei.

Pope Gregory undoubtedly had hoped for something more than this when he outlined his ambitious plan of provincial and diocesan organization but the early apostle to the English along with his more immediate successors will be totally misconceived if one attempts to fill in historical blind-spots by interpreting this first expedition primarily in terms of a campaign to

17. The word, "basilica," is here employed in its earlier, more general sense of "church." It is interesting to note, however, that architectural remains suggest that the church at Canterbury may well have been a "basilica" in the more technical sense of that word.

realize the organization anticipated by Gregory.¹⁸ Possessed at times of an extraordinary tendency toward introversion, Augustine and his companions seldom ventured far from the safety and quiet of the Canterbury familia and apparently contented themselves with the teaching of a few youths for assistance at the celebration of Mass,¹⁹ and with the extension of the episcopate to the few tribes with which this missionary archbishop had been able to establish friendly contact.

The extent to which Augustine and his companions immediately furthered the Christian cause in Britain is most readily measured by a charting of the geographical centres in which authorized leaders were settled for the propagation of the Faith. During a period

18. It is interesting to note that Duchesne, Liber Pontificalis, I, 200, fn. 118, felt that the letter addressed to Augustine (Bede, I, xxvii) was the work of Theodore rather than Pope Gregory. Few historians have ever taken this suggestion seriously, however, agreeing with CABROL, Dom Fernand, L'Angleterre chrétienne Avant les Normands, 294, that "Il n'y a pas de raison de l'attribuer à Théodore."

19. That "Mass" was a common term for designation of the celebration of the Holy Communion or Holy Eucharist seems clear from the many references in Bede who himself chose the word to describe Augustine's liturgical activity. Bede, HE, I, xxvi, "Missas facere;" HE, II, v, "celebratio missarum sollemnis." That other terms were also current is indicated by Bede, HE, III, ii, "viaticum pro eo (defuncto) sacrae oblationis offerre;" IV, xiv, "particula de sacrificio Dominicae oblationis;" IV, xxii, "oblatio hos-

of approximately seventy years following Augustine's arrival on the shores of England, twenty-seven men were consecrated to the episcopate. Of this number, eleven or twelve, slightly less than half, received their consecration from Augustine or his immediate successors. Augustine himself was responsible for only Mellitus, Justus, and Laurentius who held the sees of London (later translated to Canterbury), and Canterbury, respectively.²⁰

Justus, alone, perpetuated the succession by his consecration of Romanus to Rochester and Paulinus to York (later translated to Rochester).²¹ Paulinus was followed by Honorius who, in turn, consecrated Ithamar, Thomas, and Bertgils or Boniface.²² Although Ithamar consecrated Deusdedit who, likewise, conferred the order upon Damian, both of the latter bishops succumbed in 664 leaving Boni-

tiae salutaris, sacrificium salutare;" IV, xxviii, "sacrificium Deo victimae salutarium offerre;" Hom. in Vig. Pasch., "corpus sacrosanctum et pretiosum agni sanguinem quo a peccatis redempti sumus denuo Deo in profectum nostrae salutis immolamus." A similar series of phrases may be found in Adamnam's Vita S. Col., II,1, "sacrificiale mysterium;" I,40, "sacrosancti sacrificii mysteria;" I, 44, "Sacra Eucharistiae celebrare mysteria;" III,17, "missarum solemnias peragere." Cf. Fridgett, HHE,24-34.

20. Bede, HE,II,iii,iv.

21. Bede, HE,II,viii,ix.

22. Bede, HE,II,xvi; III,xiv,xx.

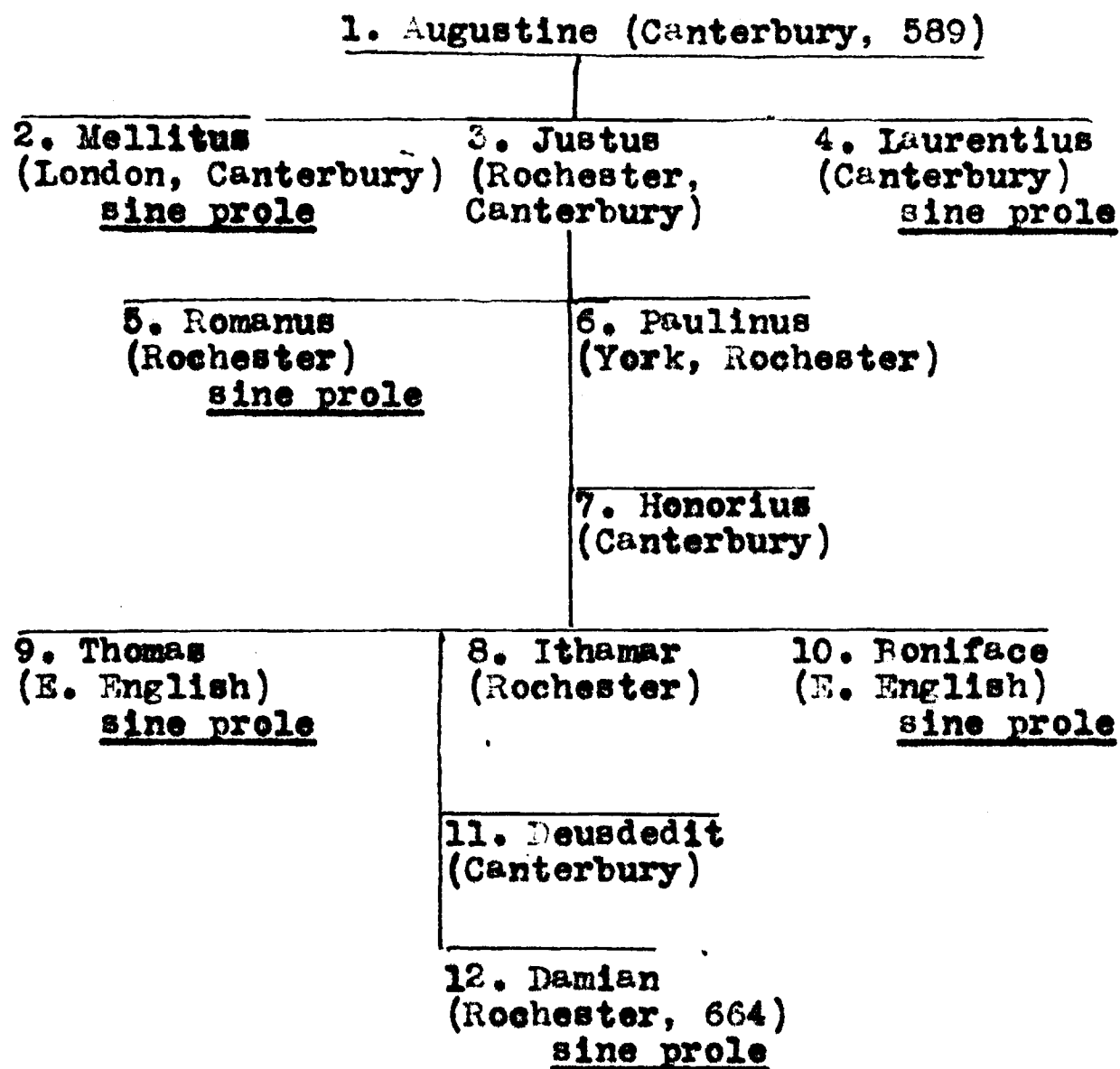
face as the only survivor of those bishops who could trace their episcopal orders to Augustine.²³ Boniface himself died in 669, probably soon after the arrival of Theodore in England.²⁴

The late G. Forest Prowne subjected the position of the Augustinian mission to some most telling criticism when he pointed out that of the twenty-seven consecrations recorded as having taken place after Augustine's arrival, only eleven were Augustinian, four were French, one Lombard, ten were Scotie, while one (that of Wini) was accomplished with the co-operation of a French bishop and two British bishops.²⁵ This tabulation proves to be even more devastating to the occasionally inflated reputation of the Augustinian mission when it is noted that from the year 655, the date of Deusdedit's consecration of Damian to Rochester, down to the year 668, when Theodore of Tarsus was sent from Rome by Pope Vitalian, there were only nine consecrations to the English episcopate and not one of these was performed by any surviving member of Augustine's ex-

23. Bede, HE, III, xx.

24. Bede, HE, IV, v.

25. G. Forest PROWNE, Theodore and Wilfrid, TAW, 9. Bishop Felix very possibly was in the Augustinian succession. This would raise the total of 'Augustinian' bishops to a maximum of twelve.



pedition. A brief glance at the foregoing table of episcopal succession from Saint Augustine to Damian tells the story quite graphically as to how abortive was this first Roman mission.

To leave our survey of the state of Christianity in England with merely this summary of the visible marks of Augustine's mission would, however, be most unfair. Actually, the organization of the Christian Church on a more or less primitive diocesan²⁶ basis was beginning to take shape despite the fact that Augustine's immediate posterity only concerned itself with the sees of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and York. A careful study of the geographical or tribal areas to which bishops were dispatched yields at least seven fairly well-established sees which, in addition to those of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and York, included Winchester, Dunwich, and Lichfield. Although the seventh archbishop of Canterbury was faced with the near extinction of the episcopate upon his arrival, these locations had achieved sufficient importance that they remained well-recognized centres whose claims to episcopal ministration were thoroughly justified during the succeeding two hundred years of

26. The word "diocese" is here employed in simply the larger sense of "area of immediate pastoral responsibility."

re-organization and adjustment.²⁷

Having suggested the major features of the establishment of the Roman mission under Saint Augustine of Canterbury, it remains for us to place this particular expedition in its proper historical perspective. To do so must inevitably grieve many an earlier historian of the English Church for although for general purposes an approach which began with the story of the arrival of Saint Augustine has been satisfactory, for two important reasons, it cannot be accepted as a point of departure for our present investigation. To begin with, it has been recognized for some decades that any sound historical investigation of Christianity in the British Isles must begin not with the comparatively late Augustinian mission but with an examination of the already indigenous type of Christianity represented by the ancient British and Celtic Churches.²⁸

These earlier types of indigenous British Christianity are extremely important for the simple reason that they represent a continuing tradition of more or less independent

27. Geoffrey HILL, English Dioceses: A History of Their Limits From the Earliest Times To The Present Day, ED, 85-155.

28. Hugh WILLIAMS, Christianity in Early Britain, CEB, provides an excellent survey of the pre-Augustinian period. For the best account of secular and tribal developments, see F. M. STENTON, Anglo-Saxon England, ASE.

Christian practice which was maintained for some centuries after the arrival of the Gregorian mission and which was sufficiently strong during the archiepiscopate of Theodore to exert a marked influence upon his ecclesiastical policies. Furthermore, to begin even a period study of Christianity in Great Britain by placing a fallacious emphasis upon the success of the Augustinian mission is only to see this first Roman mission in an exaggerated light and to view the life and work of Theodore of Canterbury as simply a continuation of the pioneering work of the earlier papal mission. We have already suggested that the great work of Theodore was, strictly speaking, not a lineal descendent of the original Roman mission and, although the most obvious accomplishment of Theodore was his organization of the English Church on the basis of the Roman structural pattern so familiar on the continent, a large part of Theodore's problem was the discovery of a satisfactory working arrangement with the continuing Celtic tradition whereby that distinctive mode of Christian practice, if it could not be decently obliterated, might at least take its place as an integral phase of Christian life and tradition within the larger framework of the renewed Roman attempt at organization and expansion.

It will be immediately recognized that the particular historical approach which has been suggested runs counter to two traditional interpretations of the origin and development of the Christian faith in Great Britain. While on the one hand it completely ignores the quite unhistorical and thoroughly romantic view of many of the early nineteenth-century English Church historians who saw their faith as a gift to this island by first-century disciples of our Lord--wishful thinking which however possible certainly cannot be subjected to historical verification although persistently attractive to the popular English religious mind--²⁹ and on the

29. Cf. Bright, EEC. This great and sympathetic student of the English Church provided a most careful examination of such romantic claims. The net result of his survey is complete absence of any historically verifiable evidence for this view. Cf. also Jules LEBRETTON, and Jacques ZEILLER, The History of the Primitive Church, HPC, 637, fn.3, whose translator, Ernest C. Messenger finds Bright's summary worthy of the following ample quotation. "'In short, we may pass by all attempts at discovery of an apostolic foundation for the British Church: the theories which modern enthusiasm has created are as shadowy as the Greek fiction about Aristobulus, ordained by St. Paul as a bishop for Britain--or the Welsh story of Bran the Blessed, father of Caractacus, who brought to Britain the faith he had learned in Rome--or that beautiful mediaeval romance which brought St. Joseph of Arimathea with twelve companions to Avalon or Glastonbury.' As to the supposed mission sent by Pope Eleutherius to Lucius, Canon Bright remarks that this presents 'no intrinsic improbability,' and adds that 'it is certain that not many years after the accession of Eleutherius--probably, indeed, between A.D. 196 and 201--Tertullian exultingly de-

other hand (And this is certainly the more important divergence for this view has been and still is held by a considerable portion of Christian scholars) that the expansion and life of Christianity in the British Isles has been largely the work of missionaries sent forth by the authority and with the support of the Church of Rome. Now it is not the intention of the present investigator to minimize the great contributions of manpower, materials, organization, and inspiration which the Roman Church gave to the furtherance of the cause of Christianity in the west. Our high regard for the work of Theodore of Tarsus will be sufficient proof of this for, after all, the Theodoran mission itself was commissioned by the Roman See and received its initial and, for many decades, continuing support from the Church of Rome. On the other hand, we would not wish to over-emphasize the importance of the Celtic contribution to the resultant

clares that places in Britain not yet reached by Romans were subject to Christ.' He thinks Tertullian must have had some reason for making this statement and concludes: 'we cannot reasonably doubt that some Christians did cross the Channel to our shore during the second century, if not earlier, and planted here and there some settlements of the Church. It was almost certainly from Gaul--certainly not, as far as we can judge, directly from the East--that these outposts, so to speak, of the advancing spiritual kingdom were sent forth among the Roman provincials of Britain.' Later research has tended to confirm the judgment of this learned Anglican historian in every respect."

character of Christianity in Great Britain. Rather is it our intention to see these two distinctive strands, for the first time, combined and welded into a common tradition of loyalty and practice during the age of Theodore. It is in this spirit that we have reviewed the earlier progress of Christianity in Britain and it is with this particular approach in mind that we turn to a brief survey of the problem of Celtic competition before we go on to examine the origins and qualifications of the man whose career was to mean so much for the renewal of Christian life and practice in England during the latter decades of the seventh century.

2. The Problem of Celtic Competition.

The story of the Augustinian mission is notable for the light which it throws upon the failure of its leaders to come to terms with the indigenous British Church. That Augustine was unable to persuade the British Church leaders to change their tonsure, mode of Baptism, and most important of all their antiquated reckoning of the Easter Festival is clear testimony not merely of the unco-operativeness of these native churchmen but of Augustine's own obtuseness and limited vision. This is not the place, however, in which to debate the lack of statesmanship evidenced by Gregory's ambassador.

Rather do we call attention to this famous failure in ecclesiastical diplomacy because it points to positive, although in many ways ambiguous, evidence of the striking differences between the two types of Christian practice.³⁰

Exactly what the Celtic Church was, what its origins were, and what its characteristic religious practices were^{are} all questions which have puzzled many a student for some decades. Apparently, its two major divisions, the British Church of the south, and the Scotie Church of the north had some remotely common origin as did the latter very obviously with the Christianity of Ireland. As to the origin of this indigenous Church, itself, we can only point to the bewilderment and disagreement among the doctors. The possibility of an Eastern origin for the first missionary activity within these islands should not be ruled out although it must be admitted that all arguments brought forward in its favour are somewhat inconclusive. Karl Holl probably offers the strongest argument while the evidence marshalled by J. L. G. Meissner and F. E. Warren tend to give substantial support to this general theory.³¹ More traditional and

30. Bede, HE, II, ii.

31. Karl HOLL, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, GAK, III, 191ff; John L. Gough MEISSNER, The Celtic Church

sometimes less critical Roman Catholic scholars such as Bridgett and Rock saw no need for such an hypothesis while such towers of historical learning as the Anglican Canon Bright and the modern Roman Catholic historians Louis Duchesne, Lebreton, and Zeiller have been satisfied to rest the case upon the more natural theory of evangelization and expansion from Gaul.³² Whatever the case, a decision as to the origins of Christianity in the British Isles is not a prerequisite to the particular study at hand. Our needs at the moment are simply to note the major differences between the native British Christianity and the newer, Roman type in order to assess the immediate problem which faced Saint Augustine upon his arrival, the Council of Whitby in 664, and five years later, Archbishop Theodore.

That the refusal of the leaders of the

In England After the Synod of Whitby, CCE; F. E. WARREN, The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, IRCC; Cf. also Williams, CEB.

32. Bridgett, HHE; Rock, COF; Bright, CMEC; Lebreton-Zeiller, HPC, 637, fn. 3; Louis DUCHESNE, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution (3rd ed.), CW, 88ff. "There is no difficulty...in the identification of the liturgy of the Church of Spain, or the Mozarabic Liturgy, up to the eleventh century, with that which was followed by the churches of Gaul before Charlemagne, and with that which obtained in the British Isles before the Roman missions of the seventh century."

British Church to give their allegiance to Augustine was not sheer stubbornness over a few ceremonial trifles may be seen if we list the various features which were rather distinctive of this indigenous church. These major points of divergence were six in number:

1. The calculation of Easter
2. Holy Baptism
 - a. Single immersion
 - b. Omission of chrism
 - c. Pedilavium after Baptism
3. Tonsure: circular vs. cross design
4. Ordinal
 - a. Consecration of a bishop by a single bishop
 - b. Lectons of Scripture
 - c. Anointing of hands of deacons and priests upon their ordination
5. Peculiar mode of consecrating churches and monasteries
 - a. Dedication to the founder
 - b. Lengthy fast preceding consecration
6. Liturgy and ritual of the Mass
 - a. Concelebration by priests as distinct from western bishop and priests
 - b. Use of unleavened bread
 - c. Mixed chalice as in certain churches of the East
 - d. Communion in both kinds³³

33. Cf. Warren, IRCC, 63f. (Cf. also DUNRAVEN, Notes On Irish Architecture, 90, and R. BRASH, Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, 95), 74f. (Cf. also Bede, HE, III, xxv.), 129ff. (Cf. also Clovesho, Canon xiii, which evidences an attempt at the late date of 747 to achieve uniformity with the Roman usage; the rule of Columbanus assigning a penalty if the chalice were injured with the teeth: Regula Coenobialis, IV. Arthur West HADDAN, and William STUBBS, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, CED, III, 360ff.

Some of these features which were peculiar to the British churches were genuinely Christian both in their origin and nature. That Augustine failed to effect a concordat with the native Church likewise testifies to his inadequate estimate not only of the antiquity of their practices, their undebatably indigenous nature, and their widespread use, but also to their essentially Christian character. In sympathy with Augustine we can probably only agree with his insistence upon a revision of the dating of Easter. Such a divergence, as Bede took care to point out, did more by way of contributing to chaos in religious discipline than almost any other practice.³⁴ Such variations among Christians in their personal religious life may seem trivial and strange to us in a more modern day when the Christian Church finds itself so thoroughly divided and in many cases is unaware or at least unconvinced as to the sin of such division. In the sixth and seventh centuries, however, variations in personal practice constituted no small concern, for the Christian life was not merely a matter of satisfying personal choice, individual temperament, and whimsical convenience. Rather was Christian practice a corporate ex-

34. Bede, HE, III, xxv. Note in particular the divergent practice between Queen Eanfled and the king!

perience, not only in the weekly public worship and participation in the Mass but in the weekday exercise of religious disciplines. Granted, too, that many of the more minute items of religious practice were of major concern to the clergy and of somewhat less interest to the laity, any serious attempt to understand the problem of the divided church which faced Augustine must recognize that divergence which precluded the exercise of a sound religious discipline was no small matter and would ultimately prevent a united front against the paganism of a large section of British tribal life. In the end, it might even mean failure for the Christian mission.

3. The Council of Whitby.

The Venerable Bede indicates that the problem of Celtic competition came to a head as a result of the more frequent contacts between the Gallic or Kentish Christians of the south and the Scots of the north.³⁵ Although Bede's discussion of the resultant disagreement betrays an admitted sympathy with the cause of the Kentish party who, to his way of thinking, upheld "the custom of the universal Church," his delineation of the major issues is to all intents a val-

35. Bede, HE, III, xxv.

id one. Granted the more minor variations of ritual or ceremonial practice, the two parties simply could not work together if they were to employ two different methods for the calculation of Easter. Especially was this true after the death of the saintly Aidan who during his lifetime had apparently, by an example of patience and love, restrained the opposing parties from disrupting the peace of the Church. By the time his successor Finan had passed from the scene, the opposing factions were more or less at one another's throats and not only was the major item of the divergent calendar raised in argument but all the other varying rules of the ecclesiastical life were added to the fires of controversy.

It is in this dispute that the name of Wilfrid first appears, a name which we shall see was to spell repeated trouble for Theodore some years later. Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, together with four priests, Agatho, Wilfrid (He here comes upon the stage in his usual role of ardent protagonist of the Roman discipline.), James, and Romanus, seem to have made up the spearhead of the Roman party. On the side of the Scots were Bishop Colman and his clergy together with the abbess Hilda and Bishop Cedd. Likewise prominent in this first recorded conclave of Celtic and Roman

Christianity were the civil leaders of the respective tribes, including King Oswy and his son. This last fact is notable inasmuch as King Oswy himself presided thus giving tangible evidence of the interest which he as civil ruler had in an ecclesiastical question which bade fair to destroy the peace of the kingdom.

The account of the debate which ensued at the Council of Whitby, although unfortunately rather meagre in its details, has been preserved for us by the Venerable Bede.³⁵ It is, moreover, the work of a Roman sympathizer with the result that the arguments of the Scots are shown in a rather weak light. Bishop Colman presents only two points: that the Scottish practice is an ancient one and the only one they have ever known or employed; that it had as its authority the traditional support of the evangelist John. When challenged by the agile Wilfrid, Colman can do no more than reassert his claim and call to his side the additional support of Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, 270, whose canon was later proved a forgery.³⁶ Wilfrid's argument, although a lengthy one is obviously inspired by the goal of achieving catholic unity with the See of Saint Peter and we

36. Bede, HE, III, iii.

read that it was on these grounds that the king concluded the debate by deciding in favour of a practice which was presumably in accord with the wishes of the keeper of the keys of the heavenly gates.

Historians are accustomed to regard the date 664 as one of the more decisive turning points in the story of British Christianity and undoubtedly they are correct in singling out the importance of the agreement which took place at Whitby. Yet, we do well to observe that the authoritative pronouncement of catholic unity by King Oswy did not settle the matter by any means. As clever as Wilfrid's argument and the resultant royal decision may have been, Bishop Colman remained unconvinced. There had been no true meeting of

minds and although Colman honestly had to assent to a royal cross-examination as to the position of Saint Peter, he found the entire argument a logical non sequitur when applied to matters of uniformity of calendar and ceremonial practices. Most of us will view King Oswy's decision as in the line of progress; we cannot but feel sorry--and perhaps somewhat sympathetic--, on the other hand, for the forlorn figure of Bishop Colman who presently withdrew to Iona, there to sponsor one of those "continuing" traditions which have been so char-

characteristic of that particular sector of Christendom.³⁷

A conciliar decision had been made but the matter had not been settled; and the course of Christianity in these islands was to be bothered for generations by an unco-operative, recalcitrant minority which, however virile and productive in its own way, was to be a thorn in the flesh to every protagonist for the unity of the Christian witness for the next two hundred years.

4. The Church As Archbishop Theodore Found It.

A decision in favour of Church unity is an act which often finds thrilling response in the mind of the average twentieth-century Christian whose patience with the unhappy divisions of Christendom is clearly exhausted. That the decision of the Council of Whitby met with general approval on the part of the Kentish churches cannot be seriously disputed; that it met with considerable misgiving upon the part of those who had been nurtured within the indigenous British or Celtic tradition must likewise be apparent to any student who is open to an impartial reading of the facts. That the Church was more or less at one with itself was a

37. For one of the best modern accounts of the Church of the Scots, see John A. DUKE, The Columban Church, CC.

most hopeful sign and augured well for those who would attempt to give it leadership within the next two or three decades. Yet the five years following this decision of unity were some of the most unprogressive and fruitless years in early English Church history.³⁸ More than this, they marked a period within which the witness of the Christian Faith was notably weak if it was not in places completely dormant.³⁹

The major reason for this definitely relaxed state of affairs was a shortage of manpower. We have already noted that the Augustinian mission itself had not been markedly prolific in its provision of the necessary clergy to teach, preach, baptize, and celebrate the Holy Communion. Worse than this, those few who were responsible for the work of the Church had neglected to learn the language of the people whom they were serving. Such is a reasonable deduction from the

38. Stenton, ASE, 130. "The five years following the council of Whitby form the most critical period in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church."

39. See Stenton, ASE, 130. "For the moment the mere continuance of organized Christianity in England was uncertain. At the very time of the council England, like much of Western Europe, was being swept by a pestilence, which removed many leaders of the clergy, depopulated whole monasteries, and produced a widespread reversion to heathenism."

Venerable Bede's account of the choice of Wighard by King Egbert of Kent.⁴⁰ Generally speaking, the Augustinian mission itself had not passed beyond the borders of Kent although it is fair to estimate that all England with the exception of Sussex had embraced Christianity officially. Exactly what an official acceptance of the Christian faith entailed is hard to say. If, for instance, it meant that an entire tribe offered itself for instruction in the Christian faith and that its leader, as in the case of Egbert of Kent, took such an interest in the furtherance of the cause that he joined in dispatching a new archiepiscopal candidate to Rome, or as in the case of Oswy of Northumbria, so espoused the drive toward unity of Christian practice that he was in a position not only to preside at an ecclesiastical conference but to hand down a decision in favour of catholic unity, official embracing of the Faith probably meant much more than many of us today would at first be willing to concede. On the other hand, it is quite clear that pagan superstition and practices went hand

40. Bede, VSA, 3. "Egbertus...cupiens eum sibi Romae ordinari episcopum, quatenus suae gentis et linguae habens antistitem, tanto, perfectius cum subiectis sibi populis vel verbis imbueretur fidei vel mysteriis; quanto haec non per interpretem, sed per cognati et contribulis viri linguam simul manumque susciperet."

in hand with an understanding of the Christian faith.⁴¹

Any account of the expansion of Christianity in the sixth century must give large place to the position of religious communities whether formally organized as monasteries on the later Benedictine lines or merely assembled for prayer, common counsel and association. If it be claimed that some of these monastic communities fostered the more contemplative life of the later medieval religious, allowance must then be made for the withdrawal of just that much in way of clerical manpower from the active work of Christian expansion. And if some of these communities be recognized as of Scottish traditions, it is likewise quite probable that their enthusiasm for the expansion of Roman order and discipline was rather lukewarm. Old customs and traditions die hard. Remembering that Bishop Colman found it necessary to withdraw for further counsel and in the end unco-operative isolation with the community

41. An interesting commentary on this phenomenon is to be found in Browne, COH, 72. "Adwulf, who became king of the East Angles in 663 and lived to Pede's time, used to say that the temple thus strangely furnished by his great uncle remained to his time and he had seen it as a boy.. .. From that time to the day of his death he had in one and the same temple an altar for the Christian sacrifice, and a little altar for the victim offered to demons."

at Iona; that little is said of Abbess Hilda's enthusiasm for the new state of affairs; that three of the newly recognized bishops had come from the Celtic churches;⁴² and that nearly all the great monasteries remained in Celtic hands, it would be going too far to claim anything in the way of homogeneity either for teaching or practice.⁴³ A post-Whitby break in the Celtic tradition at the important monastery at Lindisfarne is, however, indicative of the direction in which the Church was travelling. At Colman's request, for example, Eata succeeded to the abbacy; monastic life continued on this sacred spot although the Scotie succession of monks was definitely broken and the tradition passed on to an Anglian remnant of thirty English brethren.⁴³

Ultimately the decision at Whitby must inevitably have been far-reaching and we can agree that it was one of those important turning points in Church

42. Cedd was among those adopting the Catholic Easter while Tuda and Ceadda were rewarded by appointments to the Northumbrians and York (Deira), respectively. Cf. Meissner, CCE, 30-38.

43. Browne, COH, 34; Bede, HE, IV, iv. Cf. also William of Malmesbury, Gest. Pont., III, 107, and Haddan and Stubbs, DEC, III, 262. The position of Abbess Hilda is undetermined; that she was no enthusiast for Wilfrid's Roman sympathies is, however, clearly apparent.

history.⁴⁴ To say with the late Bishop Browne, however, that this meant the end of the position of insular isolation on the part of the Scotie congregations within the Church is to fail to appreciate the undoubted tenacity of these people many of whom were a cause for consternation at the eighth-century council at Clovesho.⁴⁵ Generally speaking, however, the churches of the English and a substantial area of Northumbria were no longer divided against themselves on the major points of usage.

The state of the episcopate just prior to the arrival of Theodore was most dismaying and for this reason, if for no other, the Church hardly warrants the enthusiastic bill of health which a decision for unity might seem to justify. A careful tally of bishops in England proper reveals only the simoniacal Wini,⁴⁶

44. Although, as Arnold TOYNBEE, A Study of History, SOH,I, has pointed out, the defeat of the armies of Charles Martel at Tours in 732, might have meant the annihilation of Roman Christianity thus leaving the task of evangelisation and consolidation to the scorned Celtic Church with its antiquated and peculiar practices. From this standpoint 732 was a far more important date than 664. That Bede was not unaware of this contingency is suggested by HE,V,xxiii.

45. Browne, CON,31; Haddan and Stubbs, CED,III,367, canon xiii.

46. Bede, HE,III,vi,xxviii.

bishop of the East Saxons until his death in 675, Toniface, of the East Anglians, who died probably soon after Theodore's arrival,⁴⁷ the recently consecrated Wilfrid who was at this time wandering in Kent,⁴⁸ and the saintly but soon-to-be-deposed Bishop Chad.⁴⁹ Canterbury, itself, was to remain vacant for five years. It is thus that an honest student can entertain no delusions of grandeur either as to the see of Canterbury or the state of the Church in England during this early period.⁵⁰

Perhaps the one sign of hope in the waning life of the Church in the five years following Whitby lies in the interest taken by the civil rulers of the day. Churchmen who in later centuries have developed a concept of ecclesiastical freedom which brooks little or no connection between Church and State will find here a most formidable stumbling block, for had it not been for the patronage or sponsorship of the civil rulers in this case, it is highly possible if not prob-

47. Bede, HE, III, v; IV, v.

48. Bede, HE, IV, ii.

49. Bede, HE, III, xxviii; IV, ii.

50. J. H. MAUDE, The Foundations of the Early Church, FEC, 139ff.

able that Christianity would have all but expired. A firm hand was required and King Oswy and King Egbert were present to take control of the situation. The episcopate had become almost defunct; the central see of Canterbury was vacant; a decision for catholic unity had been reached but could only be exercised in the hands of strong and tactful leadership; the time had come to make a careful and strategic choice of new and virile leadership.⁵¹

Accordingly, we read that one Wighard was chosen to be sent to Rome, there to be consecrated bishop and receive papal approval as titular leader of the Christian Church in Britain. This man seemed to be the logical choice. To begin with he was a native member of the Church in Britain who had received the instruction of Pope Gregory's scholars as to the proper Roman ecclesiastical usages; besides this, he satisfied local prejudice and requirements by his knowledge of the language of the people whom he was to serve.⁵² Just why it had seemed necessary to Kings Egbert and Oswy that

51. Cf. Bright, *EEC*, 226, and his observations on the possibility that the position might easily have slipped into the hands of Bishop Wilfrid.

52. Bede, *HE*, III, xxiii; IV, i; *VSA*, 3.

they should send Wighard to Rome for consecration is uncertain. Probably, they had been sufficiently awed by the thought of the Petrine favour now vested in the Roman See that they considered it expedient to have the new archbishop installed not only with the support of local consent and enthusiasm but with the full authority of the Roman Church.⁵³ The primate was to

come to his work with a new and special prestige, and...his consecration should serve as a conspicuous illustration that the English Church was to be in the future in the fullest communion and sympathy with the see of S. Peter.⁵⁴

53. Bede, HE, III, xxix. Bede seems to suggest that valid or legally acceptable ordinations depended not only upon the status of the bishop conferring orders but upon permission deriving from an archiepiscopal see which in turn would be dependent upon the direct authority vested in the Church of Rome. "quatenus accepto ipse gradu archiepiscopatus, catholicos per omnem Brittaniam ecclesiis Anglorum ordinare posset antistites." Apparently the question of valid ordinations had already been raised and the civil rulers may well have wished to preclude any future dispute on these grounds. Browne, TAW, 55ff., agrees with this assumption. Stenton, AES, 130. "In 667 the two Kings, in accordance with the choice and consent of the Church of the English people, selected Wighard, a priest of the late archbishop's familia, for this office. His first duty was to be the consecration of new bishops to vacant sees, and it was probably to prevent any future question as to his authority that he was sent to Rome for consecration by the Pope himself."

54. Maude, FEC, 144.

CHAPTER TWO

THEODORUS TARSI: MONACHUS ORIENTALIS

1. Theodorus Cilix.

Theodore was born in Tarsus of Cilicia. This is the unanimous testimony of the medieval chroniclers and the early modern historians. In every case, our information is dependent upon the text of the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History.¹ Of Bede's dependability, it is unnecessary to speak. The works of two other historians, however, although by no means on the same level as that of Bede, deserve mention: the surviving manuscripts of the monk-historian Goscelin, and the works of Eddius Stephanus and William of Malmesbury.

Concerning Goscelin,² we might simply note that he was an eleventh-century monk from the abbey of St. Bertin who, in company with Bishop Hereman of Salisbury, went into England around the year 1058. For a time, he associated himself with the religious community of Ramsay, but later removed to the abbey of Saint Augustine of Canterbury. Possessed of an historical bent of mind,

1. Plummer, VBHE, 202 and notes; Bede, HE, IV.1. "Theodorus, natus Tarso Ciliciae...."

2. Variouslly spelled Gotscelin, Gotselin, Goscelin, Goscelin, and Gotselme.

Goscelin determined to preserve the traditions of the major saints to whom the English Church paid special honour. He visited the principal monasteries of England and assembled a body of biographical data for use in his contemplated project. His major work was a History of St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, Apostle of the English. While at Canterbury, he also compiled short biographies of St. Lawrence, St. Melitus, St. Justus, St. Honorius, St. Deusdedit, and St. Theodore.³ Although in large measure dependent upon the work of the Venerable Bede, Goscelin occasionally gives a slight twist to a life or furnishes an unusual bit of information which may indicate an independent historical source. Among these works, two accounts of Saint Theodore survive in two different manuscripts, respectively.⁴ Two other works, al-

3. Thomas Duffus HARDY, Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the End of the Reign of Henry VII, DCM, I, 378.

4. De Adventu Beati Theodori, Archiepiscopi, in Angliam, listed as 850 in Hardy, DCM, I; Ms. Cott. Vespas. B.xx.ff. 223-232, vell. quarto, 12 century; Ms. Harl. 105ff.218b-227b. vell. small folio, 12th century. Hardy notes that these two manuscripts both represent the work of Goscelin and are derived from Bede; they were apparently unknown to Mabillon. De Sancto Theodoro, Archiepiscopo et Confessore is listed as 853 by Hardy, DCM, I; Ms. Cott. Tiber. E.1.f.241; Ms. Bodl. Tanner.15, vell. folio, 15th century. These are obviously the same text as was known to Capgrave and represent abridgements of Goscelin.

though not identifiable as the work of Goscelin, or his fifteenth-century redactor, are of the same general period and seem to betray the same school of medieval scribes.⁵

Of the works of Eddius Stephanus and William of Malmesbury, we need simply note that as historians both are markedly inferior to the Venerable Bede although occasionally their works are of value as an authentication of Bede and by their preservation of information which is derived from other sources. The latter, for example, derived information from Theodore's student, Saint Aldhelm.⁶

One interesting item as to Theodore's background is found in the Bollandist's monumental collection of information relative to the acts of the saints.⁷ This particular tradition--and we are forced to regard it as tradition at best-- finds no support in Bede and is cha-

5. De S. Theodoro, Archiepiscopo, Lectiones Septem, cum parte Lectionis Octavae, listed as 851 by Hardy, DCM,I; Ms. Harl. 652.p.216. vell. folio. double cols., 12th century. My own conjecture as to this work is that it may represent certain material discovered by or available to Goscelin which he preserved but laid aside as not immediately pertinent to his biographical histories. Vita S. Theodori, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, Carmine Elegiaco, listed as 852 by Hardy, DCM,I; Ms. Lambeth. 159,ff.227-228, paper folio, 15th century. This is of interest in that it is probably the oldest surviving account of Theodore which carries the title of a Life.

racteristic of the romanticising medieval historian who never hesitated to claim that his hero was born "of noble parents."⁸ How enlightening it would be if we really did know something of Theodore's parents, of his early home life, and perhaps of his first schooling. But, unfortunately, the place of Theodore's birth is the only fact of his early life which we can accept with a reasonable degree of certainty. Biographical accounts which attempt to embroider upon this fact must be regarded as in the same category of historical romanticising as that of the seventeenth-century Wilson whose historical acumen the Bollandist did not hesitate to challenge.

Among the several late Renaissance attempts to outline the career of Archbishop Theodore, one distinguishes itself by its application of the unique title, Theodorus Cilix, to the strange and important figure whose life we are about to study. This account is to be found in a compendium of biographical and semi-criti-

6. William of MALMESBURY, Migne, PL; Eddius Stephanus, B. COLGRAVE, Life of Wilfrid, VW; ALDHELM, Migne, PL.

7. BOLLANDI, Acta Sanctorum, (Septembris 19), AS.

8. Bollandi, AS, 55ff. Theodorus "qui natus Tarsi in Cilicia nobilius parentibus." The Bollandist discounts this as "Wilsoni figmentum sit." Item 10. Wilsonus was one of the more uncritical Anglican chroniclers of the seventeenth century.

cal articles entitled, Historia Critica Philosophiae, by Jacobus Bruckerus.⁹ Measured by modern standards of scholarship, these tomes would be placed alongside nearly all the others of their period. They are massive; they are encyclopedic; and, unfortunately, they represent the common tendency of the period towards conflation of sometimes contradictory strands of evidence. Bruckerus was somewhat unusual, however, in that he possessed sufficient historical perspective to enable him to group representatives of the early scholastic and philosophical tradition such as Theodore, Aldhelm, and William of Malmesbury. It was perhaps this same feeling for historical perspective which led him to identify Archbishop Theodore with the larger geographical division of Cilicia rather than with the small town of Tarsus. At any rate, Bruckerus was making a concerted attempt to see Theodore in the large and he was not to be confined to the mere mention of Tarsus. Like other encyclopedic biographers, Bruckerus knew the fairly sound tradition that Theodore was born in Tarsus; he was also aware that little else was known of the man's origin. But as an author of some historical perspective, Bruckerus realised that Theodore was too big a figure to be spoken of as a

9. Jacobus BRUCKERUS, Historia Critica Philosophiae, HCP, III, 575ff. Published in 1766 at Leipzig, this work is an early example of German historical criticism.

monk from Tarsus. Rather was he Theodore, the Cilician, Monk-Philosopher and Archbishop, whose stature was of sufficient size to place him alongside the great worthies of history.

Having made this brief excursus into the forests of historically untrustworthy literature (which might so easily become a pitfall for our present study), we make no apology in returning to the pages of the Venerable Bede whose Historia Ecclesiastica must constitute the major primary source for our investigation. Our return to Bede is likewise a frank admission that direct information on the early life of the monk Theodore is practically non-existent. This being the case, our reconstruction of an outline for Theodore's youth must in some cases be dependent upon circumstantial evidence which we may be able to draw from the secular history of the period.

The exact date of Theodore's birth must be admitted to be unknown and it is only by means of some arithmetical calculation that we can arrive at a reasonable approximation of the year. To discover this date, the student must ascertain Theodore's age on the occasion of his consecration or at the time of his death. And once more, it is to Bede's primary historical account

that we must refer.¹⁰ There, Bede states that Theodore was sixty-six years old upon his appointment as archbishop; that he died in the same year that Cadwalla died at Rome, i.e. A.D. 690, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, after an episcopate of twenty-two years. These figures are consistent and may be used to calculate the date of birth provided the date of death, 690, and the date of consecration, 668, are correct.¹¹ Granting these two dates, for the moment, the time of Theodore's birth could be placed within the year 602, although one must immediately add that due to the approximate character of such phrases as "sixty-six years old" and "fourscore and eight

10. Bede, HE, IV, i; V, viii.

11. Reginald L. POOLE, Studies in Chronology and History, SCH. See article, "The Chronology of Bede's Councils of 679-680," pp. 38-55. "In dealing...with the chronological data supplied by Bede, we may leave the Roman Indiction altogether out of account. We have a choice only between the Indictions beginning on the 1st and the 24th September, the Greek and the Caesarean. Now there is, as we shall see, good reason for holding that it was the Greek Indiction which was in use in the time of Archbishop Theodore, even as it continued to be the only one employed in the papal chancery down to 1087. The Caesarean Indiction is first mentioned by Bede himself, in a treatise which he wrote in 725. He speaks of it without comment as the accepted reckoning, but it seems most likely that it was his own invention designed to bring the Indiction into accord with the autumnal equinox." "The importance of establishing the type of Indiction in use becomes evident when we remember that

years," the year 603 would also be a possibility. Yet the problem of establishing any date which is meaningful and accurate in the mind of the twentieth-century scholar is a most difficult one, for Bede did not hesitate to employ three different methods of calculation. The annus Domini, which is used by modern scholars, was only of recent importation in the time of Bede and was, in turn, dependent upon the Indiction of which there were three possibilities. The third basis of calculation was that of the regnal years. Accepting the Greek Indiction as the one favoured by Bede, the chance that Theodore's birth occurred in the year 601 is a bare possibility although rather improbable since eighty-eight years subtracted from 690 leave 602, even if four months are allowed to harmonize the year of Indiction (upon which the

the Indiction was the one stable element in the date of a document. The annus Domini was a recent importation. It was not intended to provide an era for historical purposes; its object was merely to serve as a reference in Easter Tables. Naturally, therefore, it was taken as running on the same lines as the Indiction; and as the Indiction began four months before what we call the current year, so was the year of Grace reckoned. The acceptance of this principle for the period with which we are concerned will, I believe, produce harmony between a number of dates which are regarded as discrepant. It will also have the result of fixing a good many events a year earlier than they are placed by modern scholars, though not always by their predecessors in the seventeenth century."

annus Domini was dependent) with our current mode of calculating the Christian era. On the basis of circumstantial evidence, the date of Theodore's birth in Tarsus may be asserted to have been in or near the year 602.

Having established to a reasonable degree of certainty that Theodore was not only born in or near Tarsus of Cilicia but very probably in the year of Our Lord 602, we must proceed to comment upon his early life and education. But here again, we have run up against a blank wall. Just as nothing is certain as to his family background, so there is no clear evidence as to his early education.

We may note that Tarsus remained in the time of Theodore a Greek city.¹² That it was placed in the midst of a larger population which was regarded by the urban dwellers as in the category of cultural barbarians helps us to see with some perspective the unusual privilege which birth and early life in this city must have bestowed. Walter F. Hook, one of the nineteenth-century biographers of archbishops, goes on to observe that

Greek, the language of civilisation, though freely spoken by the student, was studied as

12. Walter Farquhar HOOK, Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, IAC, I, 142ff.

a classical language, just as, during the [eighteenth] century, English was studied at Edinburgh, by men of learning, who in their fear of provincialism, became the most correct of English writers.¹³

However true this comparison may be, we may also observe that the river Cydnus was still navigable as in the days of Saint Paul and thus it was probable that Mediterranean ships still stopped at Tarsus as they plied their courses all the way from the Phoenician coast to the Scilly Isles of Britain.

A further hint as to the early education of Theodore may be found in his later reputation for the practice of medicine. This particular tradition is dependent upon two sources. The first is the Ecclesiastical History of Bede wherein Bishop John of Hexham pays tribute to Theodore's medical knowledge.¹⁴ The second source is the Penitential where there is a clear reference to his therapy for dysentery. Although this prescription is set in the midst of a discussion of various food laws in terms of what is clean and unclean, it may indicate a rudimentary application of medical ideas to ceremonial laws which previously had been founded on a

13. Hook, LAC, I, 144.

14. Bede, HE, V, iii.

purely religious taboo.¹⁵ Is it not reasonable to suppose that the young Theodore who had the privilege not only of speaking the Common Greek of the Graeco-Roman world but very possibly also received the additional privilege of training in the reading and writing of classical Greek may likewise have absorbed--whether in formal course or simply from his schoolboy companions--some of the basic principles of early seventh-century medicine as taught at the Medical School of Tarsus? Whatever our answer to this question, we are on surer ground when we note that Theodore in his own person gave evidence of such a remarkable command of the Greek and Latin languages together with a reputed proficiency in philosophical studies that no early chronicler saw fit to call his reputation in question. Certainly there must have been some basis for such an exalted reputation even though it may be impossible to trace it to its source. This reputation Bede willingly accepted without any question although it is worth noting that when Bede spoke of Theodore as a man "thoroughly learned both in secular and divine literature and in the Greek and Latin languages,"

15. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, Poenitentiale Theodori, II, xi, 5; Cf. also II, xi, 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9; I, vii, 7, 8, 9, 10.

or again in connection with Abbot Hadrian, "fully learned in profane as well as in holy literature," he was making his judgement upon the basis of empirical observation of the results of Theodore's educational endeavors in association with his companion Hadrian.¹⁶

One single shred of evidence for additional higher education on the part of Theodore may be found in the Vatican archives. There in the papal correspondence there is a significant letter from Pope Zacharias to Archbishop Boniface in which the Pope refers to Theodore as a "Latinized Greek who had previously been a philosopher, educated at Athens, ordained at Rome, commissioned with the pallium, [who] was sent across to judge and rule in Britain."¹⁷ That Theodore's reputation for philosophy was not merely a local one is again attested by a synodical letter written by Pope Agatho on the occasion of the Roman Council of 680.¹⁸ In regretting

16. Bede, HE, IV, i, ii. "Vir et saeculari et divina litteratura, et Graece instructus et Latine...." "Et quia literis sacris simul et saecularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi...."

17. Zacharias, Epistola X ad Bonifacium, "Theodorus ex Graeco Latinus, ante philosophus & Athenis eruditus, Romae ordinatus, pallio sublimatus, ad praefatum Britan- nian transmissus iudicabat & gubernabat." There seems to be some discrepancy in numbering the papal epistles. Bright, EEC, 246, refers to Epistle 11. Both William HUNT, Art. (1921), in DNB, 602, and Philippus JAFFE, Monumenta Moguntina, 185, regard this evidence as conclusive.

Theodore's inability to attend, Agatho referred to him as "our fellow and brother bishop, Archbishop of the great island of Britain, and philosopher."¹⁹ Was it possible now that Theodore had studied at Athens? And if he did study at Athens, under whom did he study or in what school?²⁰

A recollection of the chequered history of the great city of Athens will reveal that the philosophical schools of the metropolis were closed by order of Justinian in 529.²¹ The remaining philosophers, seven in number, fled to Persia, where they carried on their work for several years, possibly with little difficulty

18. Haddan and Stubbs, CED.140f. print an extract of this letter with the title, "Synodical Letter of the Pope and Roman Council of CXXV. Bishops to the Emperors Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius," and the comment, "This letter is quoted by William of Malmesbury (G.P.I. ed. Saville, 112) in the idea that the council which had been delayed for Theodore's arrival was that of Constantinople itself. This is of course a mistake. It appears from the text that Agatho expected Theodore to attend in person at his council at Rome."

19. The complete sentence is as follows: "Sperabamus deinde de Britannia Theodorum confamulum atque coepiscopum nostrum, magnae insulae Britanniae Archiepiscopum et philosophum cum aliis qui ibidem usque hactenus demorantur, exinde ad nostram humilitatem conjungere." Haddan and Stubbs, CED,III,140.

20. Plummer, VBHE,notes to IV,i.

21. J. B. BURY, A History of the Later Roman Empire, II, HLRE,529.



since all were Asiatics. Among them were two teachers of note: Simplicius of Cilicia and Damascius of Syria, a Neoplatonist. Within four or five years, they returned to the Roman Empire as the result of a new treaty ratified by Justinian in 532. Whether their schools of philosophy were reopened on their former large scale is impossible to determine. On the other hand, the fact that Constans visited Athens on his way to Italy some decades later, seems to indicate that the city was in a relatively flourishing condition and that it was worthy of an imperial visit.²² On the basis of such indefinite information, the most that we can say is that it might have been possible for Theodore to have gained some training in philosophy at Athens during the first three decades of the seventh century.

No further information on Theodore's philosophical studies is extant and the evidence to which we have pointed demonstrates at most a reputation for philosophy based upon an indeterminable period of study at Tarsus and Athens.²³ Certainly if Theodore lived for a time

22. Bury, *HLRE*, II, 300.

23. A careful modern scholar such as the late M. R. JAMES, "Learning and Literature Till the Death of Bede," *Art.* (1922), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. III, 510, assumed that Theodore studied at Athens. "Theodore of Tarsus had studied in the schools of Athens, and very little of his life had been spent in Italy."

both in his native city and in a centre of such great intellectual repute as Athens, it would be almost impossible for him not to know something of the major schools of philosophical thought. On the other hand, the modern student may do well to use the word "philosopher" with caution as it applies to Theodore. As the Bollandist implies, "philosopher" may have been applied as a rough equivalent of monk or "religious."²⁴ Furthermore, whatever the philosophical basis of his early education, it is always possible that his reputation was fostered in the fields of Scriptural exegesis and theological debate. Yet the Venerable Bede's insistence upon the dual character of his knowledge cannot be lightly dismissed for it

24. The Bollandist's comments in this regard are pertinent. "Ex quibus constat, S. Theodorum scientias, quae in sua jam forte patria languerant, restauratis reflorescentibusque post Justiniani imperatoris tempora & curas Athenis, quaesivisse. Sub philosophi autem appellatione rem aliam ambiguum reliquit, quae spectat ad vitae institutum sancti Praesulis antequam ad monachos accesserit, de quo nec aliquid aliunde nobis innotuit. Secumne hic, seu certe sectae professionem publicam per philosophi nomen designare voluerit, dicere non possum, cum aliam eamque non unam significationem habeat & interpretationem patiatur. Non credo interim, vitam monasticam hic philosophiae nomine venire, dum enim antiqui pro ea illud usurpant, talia passim adjiciunt V. G. Christi, sacra &c., unde luculenter videas, aliud omnino ea voce, quam profanam eruditionem designari. Itaque vel propter eximiam in philosophicis disciplinis excellentiam, vel quia ante illam scientiam, forte Athenis pro illorum temporum more professus fuisset, philosophum hic a Zacharia Papa appellatum arbitror."

is not at all impossible that Theodore was an adherent of one of the late Stoic sects. Still, the picture remains obscured by the fact that at some period in his early life he became a Christian. This in itself would indicate that whatever knowledge of classical philosophy he may have attained would have to be subjugated to the yoke of Christ. Particularly would this be so if the philosopher in question were to adopt the life of a religious.

If our study of Theodore's early life be unable to yield any information as to his family, his early education, and his work as a philosopher, certainly it should tell us something of his early life as a member of the Christian Fellowship. But on this point, too, we must plead ignorance. When Theodore became a Christian is unknown; whether he was baptized and confirmed as an infant and received the nurture of a Christian home or whether he turned to the Christian Faith after a period of skepticism or disillusionment--are likewise points which are impossible to determine. Furthermore, there is no possible way of discovering whether or not Theodore ever married. Certainly, within the context of contemporary practice among the Christians of the East, such an adventure would not have been impos-

sible. Students of imagination may see in Theodore's broad sympathies in marital problems suggestive evidence of an early marriage and that possibly unsuccessful. The same speculations which have been applied to that other great Tarsian, the Apostle Paul, can be raised with reference to Theodore. Yet, all these suggestions are essentially pure imagination and can be substantiated by no facts which at present are available to the historian.

Our earliest evidence of Theodore's status within the Christian Church is to be found in the initial reference by Bede to him as "a monk of Hadrian's acquaintance."²⁵ Here we are once more on reasonably historical ground and it is perhaps legitimate for us to allow our historical imagination limited exercise.²⁶ Bede assists us when he records that it was necessary for Theodore's consecration as archbishop to be delayed for some months while his hair grew to sufficient length to be

25. Bede, HE, IV, i. "Erat ipso tempore Romae monachus Hadriano notus, nomine Theodorus...."

26. However, the facts do not permit our imagination to run away with itself and to assert categorically, as does F. G. HOLWECK, A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints, BDS, 962, that Theodore was a member of the Order of Saint Benedict or that he "spent some time at Athens and took the Benedictine habit at Rome." The first part of this assertion is quite plausible; the latter half does violence to the ambiguous description provided by Bede.

trimmed in accordance with the Roman tonsure.²⁷

Having been ordained sub-deacon, Theodore waited four months until his hair was full grown, in order that it might be cut into the shape of a crown, for previously he wore the tonsure of the holy Apostle Paul according to the custom of the Orientals.

This is clear-cut evidence that Theodore as a monk had followed the discipline and customs of the Church in the East. It does not prove that Theodore became a Benedictine but simply that he submitted to a characteristic mark of the Roman obedience.²⁸

Specification of the oriental tonsure of Saint Paul does not help us to determine the particular order to which Theodore may have been professed.²⁹ Be-

27. Bede, HE, IV, i. "qui subdiaconus ordinatus, quatuor exspectavit menses, donec illi coma cresceret, quo in coronam tonderi posset; habuerat enim tonsuram more Orientalium sancti apostoli Pauli."

28. The Benedictine claim is a recurring assertion in various biographical summaries. A typical example is the assumption by Ioannes Tritthenhemius (cf. App. V, 7), "Theodorus septimus Archiepisc. Cantuariensis a Vitelliano Papa consecratus, natione Graecus ex Tarso Ciliciae monachus ordinis nostri in urbe Romana...."

29. Cf. Johannes MABILLON et Lucas d'ACHERY, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti (Saeculum Secundum), AOSB, where in fn. a to p. 1032, the following traditions relative to eastern tonsures are preserved. "Nempe Monachi Graeci tum temporis penitus detonsi erant rasisque similes, ad imitationem scilicet D. Jacobi Fratris & Pauli Apostoli & ceterorum, uti scribit Germanus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus in Theoria, quia a Leone Isaurico circa ann. DCC. XXX sede pulsus est. τὸ δὲ κείρεσθαι ἔ"

sides, the so-called Pauline tonsure was quite common among numerous Eastern religious orders and due to the notably loose organisation of their daily life--often in marked contrast to the austerity and stringent discipline of their personal practices--, it will be impossible for us to be more specific. Numerous religiously minded persons lived according to the Rule of Saint Basil, some lived after the Rule of Saint Athanasius, while many an eccentric developed his own rule to suit the circumstances and his own temperament.³⁰ The picture is further complicated by the fact that the early eastern monks, although often possessing a superior education, in contrast to those of the west in the following century, only occasionally developed a life in community, and often preferred to cultivate the solitude of a hermitage, the rig-

κεφαλῶν ὀλοτελῶς, καὶ τὴν μίμησιν τῆς ἀγῆς Ἰακωβ(ῆ) τῆς
ἀδελφ. οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς Ἀποστόλου καὶ τῆς λοιπῶν

Ratramnus in lib.4. contra Graec. oppos. cap. 5 idem affirmat de Clericis Graecis, quibus mos inest barbam quidem non tondere, caput vero crine totum nudare. Id tamen ab Apostolis, nedum ab Apostolo Paulo profectum fuisse negarit nonnulli, quos inter Salmasius in Epist. de caesarie & coma. Lege Menardum nostrum in Com. Regul. cap.62. sec.10."

30. Cf. Bollandist, AS, section 12, where the writer cautiously declares: "Monachus fuit forte Orientalis." ... Deinde post pauce innuit, illum Orientalium institutis, forte sub aliqua SS Basilii vel Athanasii Regula, adhaesisse."

ours of a desert, or semi-vagabond, mendicant existence.³¹

2. Theodore's Migration to Italy.

That our first historical contact with Theodore occurs in Italy is in itself an emphatic commentary on the lack of organisation which was tolerated in the life of the average Eastern religious. Yet, the presence of this oriental monk on the shores of Western Italy may be explained on three grounds, viz., seventh-century doctrinal disturbances in the East, political instability during the imperium of Constans II, and Greek colonisation in Campania and Calabria and their environs. Let us examine each of these possibilities.

That the sixth century had been one of doctrinal dispute is well known to the student of historical theology. It represented the continuation of a conflict between East and West which was to eventuate five centuries later in the final break in official communion between these two great branches of the Church Catholic. In each

31. Henry H. HOWORTH, The Golden Days of the Early English Church from the Arrival of Theodore to the Death of Bede (3 vols.), GDEEC, I, xlix f. claimed that the Rule of St. Basil, as exemplified by the careers of contemporary Basilian monks, seems to demonstrate that the monks of the east possessed a better education, both secular and religious, than the early Benedictines.

dispute, no single point of theological discussion could be segregated as a sole item for debate. Rather were the issues often confused by the expediency of settling the bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and its collateral problem of political supremacy. The Council of Chalcedon had presumably settled the question of Nestorianism. Yet this troublesome and virile heresy which had grown among the churches of the more easterly provinces of the Roman Empire finally crystalized in the great schism of the Persian and Assyrian churches. Contemporaneously, the Monophysites remained an influential body both in Syria and in Egypt. Zeno was exiled for the period of two years during which his rival received the support of the more articulate Monophysites while the famous Edict in behalf of Reunion, the Henotikon, was issued in a last attempt to put an end to the schism. Yet this edict which had been promulgated in the interests of peace was not only regarded as politically dangerous but as an implicit insinuation that the great Council of Chalcedon had been in error. Such a slur upon the integrity of the Council was too much for the Church in the West and Pope Simplicius responded by excommunicating the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople along with the Emperor himself!

Only in 518 was this latest schism healed when Justin came to the throne and reinstated the decisions of Chalcedon.³²

The second stage of the great dispute between East and West arose over the status of the so-called "Three Chapters" which had been approved by the Council of Chalcedon. These "Three Chapters" were virtually a summary of the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyprus, and Ibas of Edessa. All three men were Nestorian or semi-Nestorian in their theology. Politics complicated matters when the Emperor Justinian, acting upon the petition of the Monophysites as presented to him by his wife, condemned the "Three Chapters" by an edict in 543. Moreover, Pope Vigilius, very possibly acting under duress, confirmed the imperial edict as binding upon the faithful but when met with a storm of protest within the Church retracted by demanding an Oecumenical Council to review the question. This Council, which met at Constantinople, finally upheld the Emperor's decision and vindicated the Pope's confirmation of the edict and for once, "The East was conciliated at the expense of the west."³³

32. Henry BETTENSON, Documents of the Christian Church, DCC, 123ff. presents in convenient form the pertinent documents of this period.

33. Cf. Deanesly, HMC 11.

But the question of Monophysitism was still unsettled and the solidarity of both Church and Empire was being weakened. Eastern Monophysites were still in schism; the Second Council of Constantinople had failed to retract the Chalcedonian decisions. At the same time, the first stirrings of competition were being felt in some of the very areas where Monophysitism had prevailed. The Arab and Persian threat was beginning to loom menacingly upon the horizon. In an honest attempt to stabilize the position of Church and State, Patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria, acting upon the request of the Emperor, interceded with Pope Honorius with a formula originally composed by Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople. This statement of the Christological problem freely allowed for two natures but only one divine-human operation or will.³⁴ Pope Honorius, who was less of a theologian than he was a politician, decided in favour of an edict of peace in preference to hair-splitting theological definitions. Ostensibly, he accepted this statement "on the ground that the sinless human will of Christ could not be in conflict with his divine will, and that two wills acting in unison are indis-

34. ἐνέργεια ἢ θέλημα.

tinguishable from one will."³⁵ This "monothelite" definition was agreed to and proclaimed by the Emperor in the Ecthesis of 638. Once more a definition which was to bring an end to disputes only proved to nurture the seed of further quarrels and the more theologically acute Pope Martin condemned the Ecthesis eleven years later as smacking too much of Monophysitism. Again the Church found itself confronted by a major schism which this time was to last for thirty-three years. By then the ominous stirrings of the Arab world had been consolidated by the Hegerira of Mohammed in 622 and the Christians of Persia and Arabia had been permanently lost.

It was probably before the fires of controversy over the Ecthesis had died out that Theodore made his way from the East to the West. Where, we wonder, did he stand theologically with reference to monothelitism?³⁶ Had he perhaps disagreed with the political expediency of Pope and Emperor in 638 and then, thrilled by Pope Martin's firm stand in 649, abandoned the confused

35. Bettenson, DCC, 128.

36. Cf. the discussion of these questions in Hook, LOAC, 147ff.

theological position of his Eastern brethren and migrated to more orthodox climes?³⁷ Such an hypothesis is not at all impossible and certainly would prepare us for Theodore's own concern to keep the English Church in the straight and narrow pathway of theological orthodoxy, yet there is no real evidence as to what Theodore's early doctrinal position was.

The second possibility which may account for Theodore's migration to Italy is the instability of the Eastern half of the Empire as indicated by Constans II's abandonment of the East in the interests of a rather chaotic junket into the western portion of his domains. Whatever his theological position, it would have been very possible for Theodore to have travelled in the entourage of Constans II as one of the imperial chaplains.³⁸ History only tells us that, having been met by Romuald at Forinum and there severely defeated, Constans discarded

37. Cf. George EVERY, The Byzantine Patriarchate, BP, 77, where reference is made to the exodus of politically suspected Greek and Syrian refugees from the East to Italy. The Liber Pontificalis (I, p. 347) records that theological inquisitions were also not unknown in Italy. Syrian monks in a Roman convent were convicted of Nestorianism in 677 at the very time when the Pope was attempting to reestablish relations with the East.

38. Maude, FEC, 146, and Hook, LOAC, 148, along with others, suppose that Theodore came with the emperor's entourage in A.D. 663.

his plans of conquering the duchy and proceeded to Rome. He was formally received there by the Pope and representative clergy six miles from the city. On the 5th of July 663, he entered Rome. This was the first time in 190 years that an emperor had been seen in the Eternal City. While there he attended several services in the major churches, made offerings, and at the same time, "left a more impressive memorial of his visit by appropriating all the bronze ornaments that he could find including the tiled [sic] roof of the Pantheon."³⁹ It is also conceivable that, having travelled with the imperial party, Theodore was permitted to withdraw from it during the visit to Naples in 663. An additional possibility could allow Theodore to have visited Rome along with Constans' party where, having been disgusted by the Emperor's virtual plunder of the basilica of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he had withdrawn from the party in protest.⁴⁰

39. E; W. BROOKS, "The Successors of Heraclius to 717," Art., CMH,II,394f. Tiled? Banister FLETCHER, A History of Architecture, HOA,158, suggests "gilded bronze plates."

40. Bury, HIRE,301. The Pantheon had been remodeled as a Christian Basilica and as such had been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Cf. also Hook, IAC,I,143. "The Emperor Constans II had lately come to Rome to receive the homage of its bishop, and, with a kind of illegal legality, to pillage the people. Many Greeks were in consequence attracted to the capital, and whether in the train of the emperor or not, among them was Theodore of Tarsus."

Such a withdrawal also could have been possible upon the return trip through Naples.⁴¹ Moreover, his secession could well have been in the nature of desertion and might have put Theodore in the position of a political refugee, a possibility which might account for his willingness to travel as far as possible from the official tentacles of the Empire and his strange silence and failure to attend either Pope Agatho's Roman Council or the larger Sixth Oecumenical Council of 681. Once more, however, we must point out that these suggestions are at best historical speculations and that there is no certain evidence to support this particular line of thought as applied to Archbishop Theodore.

A third possibility would account for Theodore's presence in Italy on the simple grounds of migration to the well-established Greek colonies on the western coast of the peninsula. Continuous waves of migra-

41. The itinerary of Constantinus Augustus is furnished in Liber Pontificalis, I, 343, and apparently describes what was a fairly common route for travellers from the East. "Huis temporibus venit Constantinus Augustus de regia urbe per Citoria in Athenas et exinde Taranto, inde Benevento et Neapolim per indictionem VI. Postmodum venit Romam XII dies in civitate Romana perseverans Et postmodum, secunda feria, egressus de civitate Romana, reversus Neapolim, inde terreno perrexit Regio; ingressus Sicilia per indictionem VII et habitavit in civitate Syracusana." N.B. He died there in 668.

tion had come from Greece to the shores of the Campania for several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. The interest of Greeks in Italy was nothing new. Among these emigrants, moreover, were numbers of first-generation Christians.⁴² Yet migration is not always explained by the simple use of the word to describe the movement of a group of people from one section of the world to another. Usually, there is a cause whether it be economic advantage, political oppression, or religious persecution. Any of these reasons could apply and indeed probably all of them have accounted at one time or another for the repeated waves of Greek colonists who have settled on Italy's western shores.⁴³

42. A community of Christians, for instance, is known to have existed at Naples in A.D. 62. Cf. Pietro Pompilio RODOTA, Dell' Origine, Progresso, e Stato Presente Del Rito Greco in Italia, (Libri Tre), ORG, I, 60-73. Cf. also I, 87-93, 95-126, 329, 373, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396f; II, 160, 189.

43. Cf. Every, TBP, 76-78; Rodota, ORG, which traces the early history of the Christian Church in Calabria and the Campania in relation to the Grecian migrations; Gerhard ROHLFS, Griechen und Romanen In Unteritalien, GRU, which surveys the early conflicts between Greeks and the Bishop of Rome. The Vatican Documenti Estratti E Pubblicati Dei Nazionali Greci Per Dimostrare Che Il Real Decreto del 24 Marzo 1829, DEP, indicating the final settlement of the permissive use of the Greek rite in Italy, is of interest as evidence of the long history of Byzantine Christianity within the bounds of the Western Patriarch.

3. Monasterium Niridanum.

Our discovery of the oriental monk, Theodore of Tarsus, in association with the African Hadrian in the Niridian monastery leads us to one of the more difficult yet rewarding single pieces of research in this particular project. How innocent appears Bede's simple statement: "Now there was in the monastery of Niridan, not far from Naples in Campania, an abbot, Hadrian."⁴⁴ All would be well if it were possible to turn to a map of Naples and its environs and there point with certainty to the site of this monastery. Unfortunately, however, the literary accounts of the area are shrouded within a cloud of mystery and we are left to ask whether it be possible to establish with any degree of accuracy the precise geographical position of Hadrian's monastery.

The first step in solving this problem is to determine the correct text of Bede's statement. But it will soon be discovered that ascertaining the correct site of this monastery and the establishing of the correct spelling of the name are parts of a much larger prob-

44. Bede, HE, IV, 1. "Erat autem in monasterio Niridano quod est non longe a Neapoli Campaniae, abbas Hadrianus."

lem historically involving both civic and ecclesiastical possibilities. The monumental critical text produced by Plummer favours the reading of "Hiridanum,"⁴⁵ while the more recent edition by J. E. King, to which we have already had occasion to refer, prefers the reading, Niridanum. This is also the preference of Reginald L. Poole in his even more recent attempt to clarify this specific problem.

There are two sites which very possibly correspond with the Niridanum of our text. The first possibility is that of Neritino or Neritio. Originally this little town in Calabria was called Neritum but now is known as Nardo. The major objection to this theory is that it casts serious doubt upon the accuracy of Bede's description. As Poole remarks, this would presuppose only general information for Bede to whom "any place in the south of Italy might be called 'not far from Naples.'"⁴⁶

45. Plummer, VBHE, IV, i. This name is to be found in two of the most ancient manuscripts of Bede. Poole, SCH, 82, however, points out that the earlier editor, John Smith, had made a note on this passage that the majority of copies read, Niridanum, and that this was correct. The fact that Smith went on to claim that the place was near Monte Cassino is rather puzzling since no such place is known to have existed. Cf. John SMITH, Historia Ecclesiastica Bædæ, HEB, IV, i, p. 141. "Codices primævæ auctoritatis in hac voce differunt. Alii enim habent Niridano, et quidem recte. Locus ust iuxta Montem Cassinum."

46. Poole, SCH, 83.

To be sure, we know that there was a flourishing school there during the middle ages although somewhat later than the seventh century. Furthermore, this particular school, according to Antonio Ferrari, was famed for its Greek studies and beautiful penmanship.⁴⁷ Even greater celebrity was accorded to it when it passed from the hands of the Greeks into the control of the Latins. Yet it is very possible that the school to which Ferrari referred is not older than the fourteenth century.

Further evidence in favour of this Calabrian site may be found in the fact that Nardo had Greek bishops whose control over the church there was interrupted during the middle of the eighth century. It is also known that during the same century the church was used by Basilian monks who had fled from Constantinople and the oppression of Constantine V.⁴⁸ Poole allows that "there is an antecedent probability that a monastery would be founded at a place of some consequence like Nardo." He is also free to admit that "if monks there

47. Antonio FERRARI, (Antonius GALATEUS), Liber de Situ Iapygiae, ISI, 122f.

48. This information is derived from the bull of Paul I, 4 September 761, Liber Pontificalis.

were, we need not doubt that they belonged to the eastern rite."⁴⁹ A later nineteenth-century Italian historian, Cappelletti, refers to the tradition that in 1090 Urban II is reputed to have substituted Benedictine monks for the Greeks, yet no precise authority for such an assertion is given nor is it possible in the light of these several possibilities to claim that Nardo of Calabria is the site which Bede had in mind.⁵⁰

The second possible site for Monasterium Niridanum is Nisida, the small island in the Bay of Naples opposite Pozzuoli. Literary evidence is available which testifies to the variable spelling of this name. In classical days, Cicero is known to have written one of his letters there, while Pliny saw fit to commend the asparagus of Nesis.⁵¹ It is also known that the name nisida points to the early Byzantine migrations and the cultural interaction of Church, state, and peoples during the first centuries of the Christian era.⁵² In the fifth and sixth

49. Poole, SCH, 84f.

50. G. CAPPELLETTI, Le Chiese d'Italia, CI, xxi, 463-9.

51. Cicero, Ad Atticum Epistola, xvi.1. Pliny, Historia Naturalis, xix, 8, sec. 146. The references are owed to Poole, SCH, 84.

52. Gerhard ROHLFS, GRU, 89, 28, 119f. "Ist so die politische Herrschaft der Byzantiner in Unteritalien im allge-

centuries, the Greek language in its vernacular state of degeneration was well known within this area.⁵³ Nisidandum could easily have read as Niridandum just as Nisida and Nisita were often used interchangeably. The fact that Bede himself described Niridandum as not far from Naples is weighty testimony in favour of this site. Poole, moreover, does not find it necessary to use the additional possible evidence as to the convent of virgins served by the sickly monk Andrew. Any further information on this house is dependent upon material in the lives of two saints and "in all probability has no relation to Nisida."⁵⁴

Several Vatican codices refer to monks of the "Island of The Saviour" and to the island as "hardly twelve stadia distant from Naples," respectively.⁵⁵ The

meinen nur eine sehr lockere gewesen und hat ihre Oberhoheit oft vielleicht nur nominell bestanden, so hat die Herrschaft der griechischen Kirche viel nachhaltigeren Einfluss auf das Land ausgeübt."

53. Rohlf, GRU, 91. "Auf den öffentlichen und privaten Denkmälern erscheint in Neapel, Reggio und auf Sizilien die griechische Sprache durch die ganze Kaiserzeit bis ins 5. und 6. Jahrhundert."

54. Poole, SCH, 84, refers to Vita Sanctae Patriciae, Athanasius, archbishop of Naples. Cf. Bede, HE, IV, i.

55. Lives of the Archbishops of Naples, A.D. 800, Codex 5007. Poole believes this to be a manuscript of considerable antiquity. Cf. also an anonymous manuscript,

latter reference seems to identify the site with the island of Megarius which was made into the Castello dell'Ovo by the Norman invasion. Poole, however, regards the endeavors put forward by Mazzochi to prove that the island of the Saviour was named thus because it was the property of the Neapolitan Cathedral Church of the Saviour as highly questionable and dependent upon the assumption that the original monastery at Nisida had established a daughter house sometime earlier at the Castle. The newer house, in turn, presumably appropriated the name of the original house. This theory, likewise, is based upon an assumption that after the twelfth century the island of the Saviour was unquestionably the Castello dell'Ovo. But, adds Poole,

Not merely from the twelfth century but as early as 937 the monasterium insule Salvatoris or Monasterium sancti Salvatoris in insula maris means a building on the island called the Castello dell'Ovo and no other building.⁵⁶

More certain information is to be found in the Liber Pontificalis. Therein, it is recorded that the

thirteenth century, in the Corsini Library, Rome, Codex 777.

56. Poole, SCH, 86.

Emperor Constantine gave the insula cum castro to the Church of Naples.⁵⁷ Both Mazzochi and Monsignor Duchesne maintained that the island was Nisida even though the castrum, possibly the castrum Lucullanum, is identifiable with the Castello dell'Ovo.⁵⁸ Poole found this to be a very natural inference although he pointed out that actually the castrum Lucullanum was a short distance to the north of the island on a hill named Pizzofalcone, situated between the coast and the Strada de Chiaja.

It was to this castle or oppidum that the body of St. Severinus was taken in the fifth century, and a monastery certainly existed there, as well as several churches, in the time of Gregory the Great.⁵⁵

Dom G. Morin, apparently following Mazzochi, asserted that there was undoubtedly a monastery on Nisida in the seventh century and that it has left its mark in the history of the area and period.⁵⁹ Yet, as

57. Louis DUCHESNE, (ed.) Liber Pontificalis, XXXIV. 32. vol.L,186.

58. Duchesne, LP,I,200,fn.118. "C'est probablement la petite île de Nisida, entre Naples et Pouzzoles, anciennement Nesis, c'est-à-dire "île" sans autre dénomination comme ici."

59. Dom G. MORIN, Art. (1892), in Révue Bénédictine, VIII (1892), 482. "Il y a eu effectivement dans cette île un monastère qui a laissé çà et là quelque traces dans l'histoire, du septième au treizième siècle."

Poole maintained, no monastery definitely can be proved to have existed there. But, in spite of this and the fact that the documentary materials are scanty, he was still inclined to believe that Bede's words "do in fact refer to the island of Nisida."⁶⁰ Whatever additional evidence Poole summoned hardly succeeded in clinching the argument. Yet, sufficient indication of the extent of Greek settlements on the west coast of Italy has been provided to give a reasonable authentication to Bede's mention of the Monasterium Niridanum. Furthermore, the evidence brought forward is certainly sufficient to establish the possibility if not the probability of the identification of this monastery with a religious foundation at Nisida.

4. Eastern Practice and Discipline at Naples.

A subsidiary but none the less important

60. Poole, SCH, 87. "There are...grounds for believing that Nisida with a monastery on it came to be known by another name. Capasso [II.ii.159.n.4], the leading authority on Medieval Naples, found record of a monastery sancti Archangeli de insula Gipei in the eleventh century for which he could assign no place except Nisida, and the ecclesia sancti Angeli de Zippio is mentioned as a property of the archbishop of Naples in a writ of Emperor Frederick II of the year 1240. [Huillard-Bréholles, Co.dipl.Frid.II,v(1859),960]. If this indication is correct we must suppose that Nisida acquired a new name sometime after the seventh century."

result of this discussion is the light it throws upon the significance of the Church of Naples during the middle ages and the very obvious prominence Greek clergy enjoyed there. This growing leadership of Byzantine churchmen and their practices dates back to the days of Pope Gregory the Great and was unquestionably in the ascendancy during the primacy of Pope Vitalian.⁶¹ Yet, whatever doubts there may be as to the identification of the site of Monasterium Niridanum, it is clear that the general Neapolitan area, as well as Calabria, was a notable centre of Byzantine religious influence and as such reflected the practices and tendencies of the Eastern churches as much if not more than the churches which were connected directly with the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Already we have noted how firmly entrenched Byzantine culture became and we have observed its long history of conflict which was not to have its final settlement until the nineteenth century and then only in terms of

61. J. GAY, Art. (1900), Révue d'histoire et de Littératures religieuses, V (1900), 245-257. Cf. also Rohlf's, GRU, 89f. "Seit Gregor I lockert sich zusehends der Zusammenhang mit Rom. So fiel es der griechischen Kirche nicht schwer, früh in Unteritalien Wurzel zu fassen. Schon im Jahre 668 werden in den Kirchen von Syrakus die griechischen tropari eingeführt. Unter der Regierung Leo des Isauriers wird auch für Kalabrien der griechische Ritus obligatorisch (732). Reggio wird durch den Patri-

compromise.⁶²

For our immediate purposes, the most fruitful reading of this evidence is in connection with the literary and liturgical influence to which it points between the churches of Calabria and Campania and the newer Roman missions in Britain. Perhaps the most conclusive proof of a connection between the Byzantine areas of Italy and the churches in Britain is literary, and although it is not evidence which can be applied directly to the career of Theodore of Tarsus, it is at least significant as demonstrating the familiarity of the Theodoran Church with the ways of the East.

H. Quentin, in his study of the homilies of Bede, came to the conclusion some years ago that there was clearly a direct connection between these two spheres of ecclesiastical development.⁶³ Commenting on the Venerable Bede's homilies he remarked,

Les homélies de Bède sur les Evangiles n'étaient pas destinées aux lectures de l'office de nuit;

archen von Konstantinopel zum Erzbistum erhoben, der erste Erzbischof gleichzeitig zum Primas von Kalabrien ernannt."

62. Vatican, DEP.

63. H. QUENTIN, "Bède Le Vénérable," Art. (1907) in dom Fernand CARROL, Dictionnaire D'archéologie chrétienne et liturgie, II, 632.

elles ont été composées en vue de la messe. Au point de vue liturgique, leur intérêt provient de ce qu'elles représentent une ordonnance des péricopes évangéliques différente de celle dont on peut suivre les traces dans la liturgie romaine depuis saint Grégoire. Comme dom Morin l'a fait observer, elles se rapprochent souvent du système dont témoigne l'Evangélaire de Lindisfarne ou de saint Cuthbert, lequel représente, comme on le sait, la liturgie apportée de Naples en Angleterre par les missionnaires du pape Vitalien en 668.

Combining the researches of Dom Morin and H. Quentin, we obtain the following reconstruction of the Gospel lectionary.⁶⁴ Passages marked with an asterisk indicate identity with the Roman lectionary, while those indicated by the letters L,G,D, and C, refer to the Lindisfarne Gospels, Gallican Lectionary, Bobbio Missal, and Liber Comicus de Silos, respectively.⁶⁵

64. The evidence which Dom MORIN brought forward was concisely presented in an article aimed at discovering the Neapolitan liturgy on the basis of distinctly western evidence. The very title of Dom Morin's investigation indicates this. In other words, Dom Morin was working back to Naples from British evidence, just as we aim ultimately at showing the historical expansion from Naples to Britain in its chronological sequence. "La liturgie de Naples au temps de saint Gregoire, d'après deux Evangeliaires du VIIe siècle," Révue bénédictine, VIII (1891), 481-493, 529-537.

65. Quentin, Art. (1907), 634.

Book I

1. * Mark 1:4-8 For a feria in Advent⁶⁶
2. * John 1:15-18 For a feria in Advent
3. Matthew 1:18-21 Christ-Mass Eve
4. Luke 2:1-14 Christ-Mass I
5. Luke 2:15-20 Christ-Mass II
6. John 1:1-14 Christ-Mass III
7. John 21:19-24 St. John the Evangelist
8. Matthew 2:13-23 Holy Innocents
9. Luke 2:21 Circumcision [Possibly for Christ-Mass Octave]
10. * Matthew 3:13-17 Epiphany night. Cf. L.
11. * John 2:1-11 (Wedding at Cana) Epiphany? Cf. B.
12. Luke 2:42-52 1st Sunday after Epiphany
13. John 1:29-34 Epiphany Octave
14. Luke 2:22-35 Purification
15. * John 1:43-51 A feria for the weeks after Epiphany
16. Matthew 17:1-9 (Transfiguration) Saturday of Lent
17. Matthew 15:21-28 (Canaanite) 2nd Sunday of Lent

66. Strictly defined, the word "feria," when used ecclesiastically, refers to a week-day which is neither a festival nor a fast.

18. John 8:1-12 (Woman Taken in Adultery) Saturday after the 3rd Sunday of Lent
19. * Mark 7:31-37 Rite of Efflatus. Cf.L,C.
20. * John 2:12ff. Lent
21. * John 5:1-17 (Paralytic)
22. * John 6:1-14 (Miracle of loaves)
23. * John 11:55-13:9 Sunday before Easter when unction was administered. Cf.L,B,G,C.
24. Matthew 21:1-9 Blessing of Palms
25. John 13:1-15 Maundy Thursday

Book II

1. Matthew 28:1-10 Easter Eve
2. * Luke 24:1ff. Easter Day in B,G; Easter Eve in L.
3. Luke 24:36-47 Tuesday of Easter
4. Matthew 28:16-20 Friday of Easter
5. John 16:16-22 Third Sunday after Easter
6. John 16:5-15 Fourth Sunday after Easter
7. John 16:23-30 Fifth Sunday after Easter
8. Luke 11:9-13 Rogation Days
9. * Luke 24:43-53 Ascension. Cf.L,B,G.
10. John 15:26-16:4 Sunday after Ascension
11. * John 14:15-21 Pentecost. Cf.L,B,G.
12. John 3:1-16 Octave of Pentecost

13. Luke 1:5-17 Vigil of St. John Baptist
14. Luke 1:57ff. Birth of St. John Baptist
15. * Matthew 16:13-19 Vigil of St. Peter.
Cf.L.
16. * John 21:15-19 Feast of St. Peter. Cf.L.
17. Matthew 20:20-33. St. James the Greater?
18. * Matthew 14:1-12 Death of St. John Baptist
Cf.L,B,G.
19. * John 10:22-30 Dedication
20. * Luke 6:43-48 ?
21. Matthew 9:9-13 St. Matthew
22. John 1:35-42 Vigil of St. Andrew
23. Luke 1:26-38 Wednesday of Advent
24. Luke 1:39-55 Fridays of Advent
25. Matthew 19:27-29 St. Benedict Biscop

What now do these two sets of Gospel lections indicate? First, it should be noted that the influences of the Lindisfarne Gospel, the Gallican Lectionary, the Bobbio Missal, and the Liber Comicus, although clearly present, are relatively rare. The influence of L seems to be fairly clear in ten instances, that of G in six instances, that of B seven times, that of C three times. Identity with the contemporary Roman lectionary occurs eighteen times. This fact is notable, not because

of the larger number of passages which are paralleled in the Roman lectionary but precisely because eighteen lections represent only slightly more than one-third of the possible fifty lessons. Thirty-three lections remain unaccounted for! Now an examination of this lectionary as a whole will indicate that in nearly every instance the readings in the group of thirty-three represent either expansions of already well-fixed days in the Roman Calendar or--and this it seems is of crucial importance--expansions of the lectionary in order that it might recognize more adequately festivals which were characteristically distinctive of the tastes of Eastern liturgical scholars. In each instance the later expansions centre around the major festivals of the Eastern Church year, viz., Christmas-Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost, together with the preparations of the greater and lesser Lent. Also notable are the days set aside for St. John the Baptist to balance the prominence already given to St. Peter in the Latin Calendar. Granting that much of this evidence is of a circumstantial nature, the conclusions which have been drawn from it are sound. At least there is no greater historical probability for the transmission of Eastern liturgical influence from Italy to Britain than at the hands of Theodore and/or the scholars with

whom he associated himself.⁶⁷ Whether or not Dom Morin proved his case relative to the liturgy in use at Naples is another question but it is not necessarily pertinent to our own line of argument.⁶⁸

One further piece of evidence may be deduced from Bede's remarks concerning the use of the Gospels both for reading and instruction as part of the Baptismal Liturgy. On two occasions at least Bede felt it worthwhile to allude to such practice,⁶⁹ although it would be unwise to attempt to prove too much from his testimony. Dom P. de Puniet has shown that the exposition of the Gospels to which these texts allude belongs

67. Morin, Art. (1891), 482, was quite positive in his claim. "En 668, le grec Théodore et l'africain furent envoyés en Angleterre avec l'anglo-saxon Benoît Piscop afin de travailler de concert à l'organisation définitive de la chrétienté dans ce pays. Or, cet Adrian était abbé d'un monastère près de Naples, appelé par Bede 'monasterium Niridanum.' Mazzochi a identifié ce lieu avec la petite île de Nisita, entre Naples et Pouzzoles, la Nesis des anciens, mentionnée dans le Liber Pontificalis parmi les donations faites par Constantin à l'Eglise de Naples. Il y eut effectivement dans cette île un monastère qui a laissé çà et là quelque traces dans l'histoire, du septième au treizième siècle."

68. In a later article, "Melanges D'Erudition Chrétienne," Art. (1895), 193, he found additional support for his thesis in the famous Corpus Christi Ms.190. "Le manuscrit 190 de collège du Corpus Christi, à Cambridge, est un recueil transcrit au XIe siècle, qui contient toutes sortes de melanges disciplinaires de l'époque anglo-saxonne, notamment divers écrits attribués à Théodore de Cantorbery

to the Gelasian Sacramentary, and although reflections of them may be found in the Gallican Use, they are dependent upon the Gelasian Liturgy.⁷⁰ Furthermore, these customs had completely disappeared from the Gregorian handbook of rites and ceremonies. But at most, this simply indicates a preference for the Gelasian Use, a preference which may well have been characteristic of scholars who drew their inspiration from the customs of the Byzantine Church.⁷¹

Finally, a somewhat more conclusive piece of evidence has been pointed out by Quentin in the article to which we have already referred. This particular testi-

et à Egbert d'York. En ce feuillettement dernièrement, j'ai trouvé fol.145, parmi d'autres notices se rapportant aux différentes parties de la messe, le petit extrait suivant: Gregorius: Hanc autem subneximus hisque regulis atque ordine hoc compositum hunc libellum cantoribus praebeamus ad legendum, et cum auctoritate auperius posita discendum: demonstrantes minime posse perfectam adimplere modulationem qui non studuerit superius scriptam eiusdem artis habere notitiam."

69. Bede, In Esdram et Nehemiam allegorica expositio, l. II, Patrologia Latina, Migne, XCI, col. 862. "Pulcher ac salubris in Ecclesia mos doctrina Patrum inolevit, ut his qui catechizantur quatuor Evangeliorum sacramentum explanetur, ac recitentur exordia." Again in De Tabernaculo et vasis eius, l. II, xiii. PL, XCI, col. 460: "Unde pulcher in ipsa Ecclesia mos antiquitus inolevit, ut his qui catechizandi et Christianis sunt sacramentis initiandi, quatuor Evangeliorum principia recitentur, ac de figuris et ordine eorum in apertione aurium suarum solerter erudiantur."

mony to be found in the position of prominence given by Bede to the Old Testament worthies as well as to some of the less celebrated names of the New Testament.. Quentin's summary of this recognition together with his appraisal of the documentary significance of the feature it proves is sufficiently pertinent that we quote it in its entirety.⁷²

Bède fait plus aussi, dans son martyrologe, à quelques-uns des principaux prophètes de l'Ancien Testament et à trois apôtres du second ordre. Il insère Ezéchiel au 10 avril, Jérémie au 1er mai, Elisée au 14 juin, Isaïe au 6 juillet, Daniel au 21 juillet, Samuel au 20 août, Zacharie au 6 septembre, saint Timothée au 24 janvier, saint Onésime au 16 février, saint Barnabé au 11 juin, et saint Marie-Madeleine au 22 juillet. Ici, le martyrologe hiéronymien, même quand il pourrait, donner une indication comme c'est le cas pour Elisée, ne sert plus de guide, mais c'est avec les Synaxaires grecs que l'accord se fait, au moins

70. P. de PUNNET, Art. (1905), in CABROL, Dict., I, 2530-2534. Cf. also I, 2523 and 2525.

71. Suggestions as to the possible usage of these books in England during the epoch of Bede may be found in an article by WILSON in Journal of Theological Studies, III, (1902), 429-433. Cf. also the evidence drawn from the text of Alcuin's letter to Eanbald, by Dom Cabrol in Dict. I, 1087.

72. H. QUENTIN, Art. (1907) in Cabrol, Dict., II, 641. Note the term "Synaxarie": This word refers to the "synaxis," that is, the service of lessons and expositions employed as a preparation of the faithful and as instruction for the catechumens preliminary to their dismissal just before the canon of the Mass began.

un nombre remarquable de fois. C'est ainsi que les dates choisies par Bède concordent strictement avec celles du Synaxaire de Constantinople pour les commémorations de Jérémie, de Samuel, de saint Barnabé et de saint Marie-Madeleine. La date du 14 juin pour Elisée, est également une de celles qui sont attestées par le Synaxaire. Enfin celui-ci met au 5 septembre Zacharie que Bède place au 6, au 22 janvier saint Timothée donné par Bède le 24, et au 15 février saint Onésime que Bède se sert de l'expression Sanctus pater noster pour saint Athanase, saint Epiphane et saint Ephrem, donnent à croire qu'il a probablement utilisé quelque source d'origine grecque.

Before leaving the fascinating subject of Eastern practice and discipline at Naples, it may be worth while to examine an early eighteenth-century dissertation upon one of the more unusual features of ceremonial practice which apparently centered in the community of Byzantine Christians of the Church at Niritina. We refer to Sebastiano Paulo's exposition of the ancient Eastern custom of exorcizing water on the Feast of the Epiphany.⁷³ The study was inspired by an attempt to ex-

73. Sebastiano PAULO, De Ritu Ecclesiae Niritinae Exorcizandi Aquam in Epiphania Dissertatio, REN. This study was published at Naples in 1719 and is rather remarkable for the light which it throws upon local custom in this particular area. Occasionally weak in its historical perspective, the study must be read critically.

plain the presence at the entrance of many a medieval church of fonts and holy water stoups and how the latter peculiarly catholic article of what the late Baron von Hügel called "external religion" became the sole vestigial remain of a much earlier, more historic and evangelical practice.⁷⁴ The earlier part of the dissertation is occupied in noting the prominence given to the administration of the Sacrament of Holy Baptism at the Feast of the Epiphany. Particularly was this a common custom among the Christians of the East and among the Byzantine colonists in Western Italy. An essential accompaniment of this great festival Baptismal service was the elaborate ceremonial "blessing of the waters" which some have claimed to be a survival of the pre-Christian fertility ritual which likewise took place in mid-winter and was accompanied by a general intercession for the return of spring.⁷⁵ These same practices are found in the community of Christians at Niritina in its earlier years.

74. Paulo, REN, I. "Fontes perennes in vestibulis Templorum."

75. This festival was balanced in turn at the other end of the year by the "blessing of fruits" on the 6th of August, a date which soon became associated in Christian circles with the Transfiguration of Our Lord. Cf. Every, BP, 92.

Eventually, however, the actual festival service of Baptism dropped out of vogue at this particular season of the year.⁷⁶ But local customs and traditions die hard and as a tangible reminder of what had taken place in earlier years, the custom of exorcizing and blessing the water was perpetuated.⁷⁷ Thus divorced from its original evangelical context, the setting aside of exorcized, blessed, 'holy water' gave rise to numerous extra-scriptural and extra-liturgical practices. They were uses, however, which could be regarded as quite acceptable once their authorization by the Roman Bishop was acknowledged and loyalty to the flexible outline of Roman ceremonial practice was professed.⁷⁸ In time, this 'holy water' was used as a 'sacramental' by the faithful Christian as he crossed himself upon entering and leaving church, by the

76. The change in custom undoubtedly took place as much for practical reasons as for any other. During the earlier centuries of the flowering of Christianity, large groups of converts may well have required two or three major occasions when catechumens could be presented for Baptism and Confirmation (At that period two parts of a single rite); as the flow of converts grew less numerous, the traditional Easter Eve Baptismal service probably proved to be adequate.

77. Paulo, REN, Caput II, "Deleto ritu baptizandi Fideles in Epiphania, ritus tamen benedicendae aquae longius obtinuit."

78. Cf. the discussion of this question in terms of loyalty to Rome in Rodota, ORG, III, 392.

priest in purifying or asperging unclean articles of food, the corpses of faithful members of the congregation, or for cleansing a defiled sanctuary. A cross, for example, was often immersed in the act of exorcizing and blessing fresh water for its sacramental uses. Later, new crosses were, in turn, sometimes blessed by being "baptized" with this 'holy water.'⁷⁹

In itself, the rite of exorcizing water at Niritina may seem to be more or less of an ecclesiastical oddity.⁸⁰ Yet the sudden rise of the use of holy water for all and sundry purposes is a phenomenon of external religion which could well receive some extensive investigation in itself. Our purpose in recalling what was a practice rather peculiar to an area with which Theodore of Tarsus was familiar is simply to establish what may easily have been the historical justification of a practice which became widely accepted by the Church in England and by the

79. Paulo, REN, Caput III. Cf. also the reference to the early attempt to settle the question as to whether Latin or Greek rites should prevail. "Monachi Graeci Constantini Copronimi persequotionem declinantes se se Neritum recipere. An sub illorum administratione in Ritum Graecum transierit Ecclesia Neritina." From this point on, nearly all Paulo's material applies to a period later than that with which we are concerned.

80. For a more recent and critical treatment of the origins of this rite and its inclusion in the Roman, Gallican, and Mozarabic rites, see Franz. Jos. DOIGER, Der Exorcismus im altchristlichen Taufritual, 56-58.

end of the seventh century had received archiepiscopal authorization together with specific directions for its use.⁸¹

Of what value, now, is such evidence to our understanding of the position and later contributions of Theodore? In itself this evidence is a clear indication of the flow of Byzantine liturgical practices from the East through Western Italy--the churches in and around Naples in particular--into the churches of Britain. Furthermore, our narrowing down of this movement to the latter half of the seventh century is quite reasonable on two grounds, both of which are interdependent: the dating of the documents to which we have referred whether the writings of Bede or the more specific liturgical documents, and the beginning of more frequent and in many instances amazingly close contacts between the churches of Britain and the ecclesiastical centres of western Italy. Although such an argument is inconclusive, we submit that it is not unreasonable to assume that Theodore of Tarsus not only found himself in the main stream of this move-

81. Cf. our later discussion of this in our comments upon the Liber Poenitentialis, I,vii,8,9,10. Chapter V.

ment from east to west but that he himself was its spear-head.

5. Papal Relations With the Imperium.

Before returning directly to the career of Theodore of Tarsus and the circumstances surrounding his appointment by Pope Vitalian to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, let us note the state of relations between the Roman pontiff and the civil imperium at Constantinople. On the face of things, it may appear that the Roman Emperor of the seventh century ruled supreme. In all probability such was not the case for in actual practice the Roman Emperor found himself the victim and often the tool of powerful vested interests, pressure groups, and political cliques. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that the exercise of the imperium was only effected in terms of repeated compromises and in some cases by an unplanned devolution of the government and the indiscriminate delegation of civil responsibilities. George Every, in his recent masterly study of relations between the See of Rome and the Byzantine Patriarchate thoroughly understands this situation when he remarks,

Theoretically the sole legislator, in practice the emperor was hedged about on every side by powerful orders devoted to precedents, and open to the sway of voices from the marketplace, not

only in Constantinople, but in the other Greek cities, and colonies from Naples in Campania and Reggio in Calabria to Antioch in Syria and Cherson on the north coast of the Black Sea.⁸²

Relations between East and West were complicated by the significant fact that in a very realistic sense, East and West with their respective centres at Constantinople and Rome were cultural entities. Moreover, in the fourth century, the Christian churches of the West were still in the midst of a pagan society, a community which remained more or less semi-pagan until well into the fifth century. "Western paganism was popular, unsophisticated, and superstitious. For most people it was still a matter of demi-gods and demons."⁸³

Under these conditions, it is easy to understand just why it was that the Latin Church, beginning in the fifth and continuing well into the seventh century, had insisted on the unity of the Godhead and repeatedly found itself in theological conflict with the more intellectually sophisticated and philosophically mature Church and Empire of the East. That it should have resisted each tendency in Greek thought which looked upon Christ as semi-divine or

82. Every, BP, 22.

83. Every, BP, 40.

super-human, or in some respect neither God nor man was to be expected. Only in this light can we understand the trend toward a great gulf between East and West which had begun to make itself clearly manifest as early as the sixth and seventh centuries. Already the supremacy of the Common Greek of the Mediterranean world was being called in question and was of little use except on the frontiers of Dalmatia and Italy and in the Greek colonies on the south-western coastal region.⁸⁴ In some instances, such outposts were left in political and cultural isolation. Especially was this true in a period when the government lacked sufficient troops to stem the increasingly fissiparous tendencies of more culturally independent centres such as Rome, Naples, and Grado.⁸⁵

Against this background of imperial disintegration, Brother Every's summary of the increasing disunity of Christendom during the years just prior to the monk Theodore's appointment, is most revealing. Tracing the development of the theological dispute as guided

84. Howorth, GDEEC, xv, for instance, claimed that Greek was already dead in the time of Gregory I, although there were still to be several of the Popes who were Greeks by race.

85. Every, BP, 70

by Maximus, Every points out that

Maximus could not conduct his propaganda in the centre of the empire. He worked his way from Palestine and Egypt to Africa, where he held a disputation with Pyrrhus, an exiled Patriarch of Constantinople, and so by Sicily to Italy. There he informed Pope Martin I of the condition of the East, and caused him to summon a council at the Lateran in 649, where he condemned the emperor's Type and broke off communion with the church of Constantinople. The Exarch who was sent to arrest Pope Martin joined his party and began a rebellion.

In 655 the Roman clergy found ambiguities in the "systatic letter" of the Patriarch Peter of Constantinople, and persuaded Pope Eugenius I to reject it; but his successor Vitalian sent a profession of faith to the emperor that was received as satisfactory, and exchanged letters with Peter in 657. In 663 he received the Emperor Constans in Rome itself.⁸⁶

The reasons which have already been suggested in the attempt to explain the presence of the Oriental monk, Theodore of Tarsus, in the vicinity of Naples and Rome in the seventh decade of the seventh century now take on a more immediate significance. Not only are we faced with the task of attempting to understand a contest of political rivalry between East and West running parallel with a lively theological dispute. Rather are we faced with a situation in which the literary figure of

86. Every, BP, 76f. Cf. also pp. 64 - 65 of this Chapter.

Euclidian parallels proves to be inadequate and we find ourselves trying to untangle a problem which requires for description the modern mathematical figure of "intersecting parallels." The presence of a Greek monk adds the final touch of chaos, for monks of the Eastern churches more often than not were formidable critics of Church and State as well as of faith and morals. If such figures were persecuted and perchance became martyrs, they only served to become added fuel to the fires of already heated controversies. Often the only sure way of dealing with such disturbing individuals was to move them to an unsympathetic monastery but even then, as one writer has suggested, "they might exercise too great an influence over their hosts."⁸⁷ Could this have been a factor both in explaining the presence of Theodore at Niridanum and in his appointment for work in the far-off Church in Britain? The more thoroughly the chequered relationship between the papacy and the Imperium is understood, the more plausible such a theory becomes.

Recent students of English Church history have tended to avoid such a speculation as has just been suggested. One of the eighteenth-century students of By-

87. Every, BP, 22.

zantine religious culture in Italy, however, was quite insistent upon this point and he did not hesitate to claim political motivation as the immediate inspiration for the choice of Theodore by Pope Vitalian. We refer to the already-noted account of the origin and progress of the Greek rite in Italy by Pietro Rodota.⁸⁸ It is on this basis that Rodota sought to explain not only Theodore's appointment but his assumption of the Roman tonsure as distinct from that of the East. In other words, Pope Vitalian, a rather weak courtier, in part the victim of circumstances but also wishing to do the right thing for the Church, found himself confronted with the task of appointing a new archbishop to a far-distant, although strategic see in a Church which from the Roman point of view was as yet anomalous in its organization and practice. Among the possible candidates was an Oriental monk, Theodore of Tarsus. Now we have already learned something of Vitalian's position relative to the

88. Rodota, *ORG*, 102. Cf. also his summary of the question of Eastern-Western rites. "Temendo, che come greco d'origine, ed inclinato a dilatare il proprio rito, non turbasse il buon ordine delle cerimonie latine, che fioriva in quella Chiesa, strettamente lo incaricò d'astenersi dal portarvi verun cambiamento, e dal convertire in greco il rito latino, che ivi si osservava."

controversy with the East. The break which had taken place in 655 during the papacy of Eugenius I had been healed two years later by the irenic attitude of Vitalian who had satisfied both the emperor and Patriarch Peter as to the orthodoxy of the Latin Church. Could it have been possible that the presence of the monk Theodore at Rome and Naples militated against his policy of collaboration with both emperor and eastern patriarch? If our answer to this hypothetical question be in the affirmative, it would likewise be reasonable for us to suppose that Vitalian "pitched" upon Theodore,⁸⁹ recognizing that by such a choice he would in one masterful stroke remove from Rome a religious who in certain respects was a political liability but who at the same time gave great promise of leadership in the stupendous task which lay before him in Britain. Only upon some such reconstruction does it seem possible to explain the diplomatically-minded Vitalian's risk in appointing a man whose theological and/or

89. Cf. the early nineteenth-century summary statement by William DUGDALE, Monasticon, Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries in England and Wales (2 vols.), MA, I, 82. "Pope Vitalian pressed the place upon Adrian, a Carthaginian and abbot, and Andrew, a monk, who both declined it: at length he pitched upon one THEODORE, a Greek...."

ceremonial practices were so questionable that he had to be accompanied by a theological assessor to guarantee strict accord with the Roman See in matters of faith and practice.

6. Appointment to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury.

Within the framework of historical possibility which we have just constructed, it is now fitting that we should set forth the bare details of this monk's appointment to Canterbury. And bare details they are for in every instance, we are again dependent upon the brief explanation of his appointment as provided by the Venerable Bede and a single reference in the chronicle of the Liber Pontificalis. Two other possible sources of information are no longer available. The first of these was the commendatory letter of Pope Vitalian to Archbishop John of Arles on Theodore's behalf.⁹⁰ Had it been preserved, it might have thrown some additional light upon the circumstances of the appointment as well as have secured for Theodore the hospitality of the archiepiscopal residence at Arles. The other possible source of information is a letter of Pope Vitalian to Theodore re-

90. Bede, HE, IV, 1.

specting the authority vested in an appointment to the see of Canterbury. Unfortunately this letter is of highly questionable authenticity and internally furnishes no details of Theodore's actual appointment aside from the pious claims of the writer to intense personal interest on the part of the Holy See in the furtherance of the Church in Britain.⁹¹ Rejection of this letter does not constitute a significant loss. Any direct examination of the details of Theodore's appointment is thus restricted to the pages of Bede.

Reference to the nomination of Wighard by Egbert and Oswy and his untimely death at Rome has already been made.⁹² Upon what authority Pope Vitalian proceeded to handle the appointment himself without further consultation with Britain's civil rulers is unknown.⁹³

91. This letter is preserved by William of Malmesbury in Gesta Pontificum, I, fol. 113, ed. Savile, which was collated with the Bodleian Ms. 357. A copy is furnished in Stubbs, CMD, III, 116. The assumptions of pontifical pride and authority evidenced in this document make it highly suspect and date it as more congenial to the Hochmittelalter when such ecclesiastical scholars as William of Malmesbury were repeatedly occupied in establishing the grounds of papal authority in Britain.

92. Cf. pp. 37, 38.

93. Browne, TAW, 58, suggests: "It is even possible that Wighard only unwillingly accepted the election, and the kings, or one of them, went so far as to inform the Pope

Presumably,--and this would have been supported by certain allusions in the questionable letter already discarded as untrustworthy--, he acted upon the precedent of Pope Gregory's initial appointment of Augustine and his companions and the original plan for the organization of the Church in Britain. Although this presumptive action may be questioned by more independent ecclesiastics of post-Reformation days, there seems to be no substantial reason for suspecting Pope Vitalian's motives and such a letter to Oswy explaining Wighard's death could appear on the face of it to be an authentic notification of the tragedy and of his own interest in the furtherance of the Church in Britain.⁹⁴ Yet one sentence at the close of this apparently spurious letter has puzzled a good many students and raises a question which probably is insoluble. We refer to Vitalian's allusion to "the tenor of your letter."⁹⁵ Had the kings sent an additional letter

that so long as they got a good man, they were not greatly set on Wighard, nor he on the office." Yet, is this likely? Stenton, AES, 130f., remarks: "Pope Vitalian had recently been made to feel his subjection to the Eastern Emperor, and policy as well as the necessities of the English Church indicated that the pope should himself provide an archbishop for the English."

94. Bede, HE, III, xxix.

95. "Hominem denique, inquit, docibilem, et in omnibus

requesting the Pope to use his own judgement in regard to Wighard and if he was not found suitable to consecrate another?⁹⁶ The chances of this are rather slight although since we are arguing in the absence of adequate information, we might observe that under the circumstances, almost anything could be predicated.⁹⁷ Whatever Vitalian may have had in mind, it is clear that he was attempting to find a man who would be suitable as archbishop of Canterbury. That he claims he has had some difficulty in discovering a proper candidate both willing and able to make the long journey does not at all surprise us. To the average inhabitant of the kindlier climes of the Italian peninsula, the tales of rigorous British winters and barbarous inhabitants must still have sounded cred-

ornatum antistitem, secundum vestrorum scriptorum tenorem, minime valuimus nunc reperire pro longinquitate itineris. Profecto enim dum hujusmodi apta repertaque persona fuerit, eum instructum ad vestram dirigemus patriam, ut ipse et viva voce, et per divina oracula omnem inimici zizaniam ex omni vestra insula cum divino nutu eradicet." Very possibly this epistolary reference was composed with the inspiration of Bede's remark upon the royal messengers' report to King Egbert that the "bishop whom he had sought from the Roman bishop" was delaying in France. Bede, HE, IV, i, "episcopum quem petierant a Romano." Cf. also III, xxix.

96. There seems to be no sound reason to regard this as 'certain' as did J. LINGARD, The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ASC, I, 75.

97. Bright, ECH, 227, observes, "Bede, in his two refer-

ible and easily could have displaced the memories of happier days during the Roman occupation of that island. Communication with the former outposts of the Roman Empire had been sufficiently disrupted to render the western islands of Europe once more terrae incognitae.

Hemmed in by these difficulties, Vitalian began the task of filling a position which apparently nobody wanted. Vitalian's first choice and seemingly his personal preference, was for the African-born Hadrian, abbot of the monastery of Niridan. Presumably the mention of Hadrian's academic and ecclesiastical education indicates that the Pope realized the necessity of both scholarship and discipline in the Church in Britain.⁹⁸

ences to the royal letter, does not say that it was actually made: he says that the pope described Theodore as 'the teacher' whom Benedict Biscop's 'native land had earnestly sought for.'" Cf. Hist. Abb., 3, "quem sedula quaesierat." He continues, "It has...been suspected that ...a Pope who had had ten years' experience would know how to infer the commission from the request, with no other warrant than the pretensions of his see, The subsequent words of the messengers...might be simply an echo of this papal inference." Cf. also Kemble, CD, II, 366, and Martineau, Church History, CH, 85, both of whom suggest, and CHURTON, Early English Church, EEC, 75, who assumes, that the two kings may have written a second time to concede the entire appointment to the Papal discretion.

98. Hadrian is described as "Abbas Hadrianus, vir natione Afer, sacris literis diligenter imbutus, monasterialibus simul et ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutus, Graecae pariter et Latinae linguae peritissimus."

That the Niridan abbot declined the appointment appears to have been on the grounds of genuine humility and an understanding of his own aptitudes which favoured the life of scholarly monastic discipline rather than ecclesiastical administration.⁹⁹ That this was not merely a temperamental display of false modesty seems to be proved by the fact that both Vitalian and Hadrian took care to guarantee the establishment of a semi-monastic, episcopal familia in which the scholarly abbot's talents could be used to the best advantage.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Hadrian clinched his refusal by presenting the name of a man whom he considered to be more worthy of such a position in the Church.

The second choice accordingly fell upon Hadrian's nominee, the monk Andrew, who was chaplain to a neighboring convent. In Bede's words, "this man was of all that knew him esteemed worthy of the bishopric." Physically, however, Andrew failed to satisfy the re-

99. The nineteenth-century hagiographer, Alban BUTLER, Lives of the Saints, LOS, Theodore, Sept. 19, found Hadrian's plea of unworthiness rather remarkable. "How edifying was this contention, not to obtain, but to shun such a dignity."

100. Bede, HE, IV, 1, the very last two sentences of the chapter.

quirements necessary for one who should undertake the arduous trip to Britain and there assume the heavy duties of a missionary archbishop.

The third choice again fell to Hadrian, thus making it quite obvious that Pope Vitalian was convinced as to his qualifications. That Hadrian still declined would seem to indicate more than ever his genuine humility. Very possibly, he intended to give himself to the challenging work of the Church in Britain but only on condition that he might labour in that sphere to which he was best fitted. The foundation of the cathedral school at Canterbury already had been clearly envisioned.

Thus we come to a fourth choice, another monk of Hadrian's acquaintances.

At this time, there was in Rome a monk known to Hadrian, by the name of Theodore, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, a man educated both in secular and religious literature, and in the Greek, and Latin languages, of good character and of a venerable age, being then sixty-six years old.¹⁰¹

101. Bede, HE, IV, i. "Erat ipso tempore Romae monachus Hadriano notus, nomine Theodorus, natus Ciliciae, vir et saeculari et divina literatura, et Graece instructus et Latine, probus moribus, et aetate venerandus, id est, annos habens aetatis sexaginta et sex." Stenton, AES, 131 notes that Theodore was "then living in Rome." Just what Theodore was doing in Rome is impossible to determine. Had he taken up residence there or was he merely on a temporary visit?

This candidate was willing and acceptable, apparently satisfying both Pope Vitalian and his advisors.¹⁰² Yet Theodore's acceptance by Pope Vitalian was only with certain conditions, and if the appointment was made with some misgivings, it was perhaps effected against the background of political considerations which we have already suggested.¹⁰³ By requiring that Hadrian should accompany Theodore, Vitalian was assured of the establishment of some sort of centre in England for the training of an indigenous ministry. His ostensible reason for such an arrangement was simply that Hadrian was already acquainted with Gaul from previous foreign travel and thus could furnish the necessary geographical guidance. Furthermore, Hadrian was an abbot of some wealth and was apparently provided with men of his own who could assume the more laborious tasks of transcontinental travel.

102. It is impossible to say who, besides Hadrian, provided counsel for Vitalian, although it is clear that the pope had not acted alone. Cf. Bede, VSA, 3. "At vero papa apostolicus, ne legatariis obeuntibus legatio religiosa fidelium fructo competente careret, initio consilio elegit de suis quem Britannias archiepiscopum mitteret, Theodorum vide licet...."

103. Browne's conclusion, TAW, 80-85, seems unwarrantedly aggressive. "I think there is little or no doubt that Vitalian was not a Monothelite; but he was a courtier to whom it mattered less what he did or said, than that he should keep good friends with the supreme power."

el. Perhaps, as J. E. King suggests, these men were Hadrian's own slaves rather than extra men from his monastery.¹⁰⁴ Outfitting of the new expedition would thus be accomplished with little or no additional expense to the papal exchequer.

An additional reason for this condition of appointment strikes directly at Theodore's theological integrity for Hadrian was to accompany his nominee in the role of theological assessor.¹⁰⁵ All this would seem to suggest that whatever Theodore's political background and its possible entanglement with matters of theological controversy, Pope Vitalian was uneasy about the proclivities of a Greek theologian-philosopher.¹⁰⁶

104. See King's footnote in Bede, HE, IV, i, Vol. II, p. 6 fn. 1. "Sufficiensque esset in possessione hominum priorum."

105. Bede, HE, IV, i. "Ut ei doctrinae cooperatore existens diligenter adtenderet ne quid ille contrarium veritati fidei, Graecorum more, in ecclesiam cui praeeset, introduceret." Stenton's comment that "Hadrian...was required to instruct him in Catholic doctrine" is an unfortunate exaggeration."

106. Thomas of EIMHAM, (Charles HARDWICK, ed.), writing some centuries later more or less preserved the Bede account in Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, HMCAC, Titulus VIII, 57, 243f. This account does appear to magnify Hadrian's responsibility to the detriment of Theodore's theological integrity. "Haec enim almifluus Adrianus, missus a viro apostolico Vitaliano in coopera-

Bright suggested that this may reflect a suspicion that Theodore had been involved in the Monothelite controversy.¹⁰⁷ Whether he actually ever was remains a moot question even though his anxiety several years later to place himself and the Church in Britain on record in matters of basic theological orthodoxy do suggest an earlier occasion when he engaged in a heterodox theological debate. The chances are, however, that the archbishop's later concern for orthodoxy was sincere. Furthermore, it should be noted, along with Bright, that "Theodore's Orientalism was shown, not on dogmatic points, but in the 'Draconian' severity of his penitential rules."¹⁰⁸ Seen in this light, the Pope's distrust is not directed at Theodore's personal integrity or his previous theological opinions but rather a suspicion of all Greeks in general, especially when it came to their handling of philosophical and theological problems. Most important of all it should be observed

torem Theodori, devitabat perpendens prout acceperat in mandatis, ne forsam quicquam contrarium fidei, more Graecorum, Theodorus, qui Graecus fuerat natione, in ecclesiam induceret Anglicanam." Cf. Meissner, CCE, 39, who accepts Elmham's statement at face value.

107. Bright, ECH, 229. Bright remarks that "Vitalian had no mind to be a confessor or a martyr; but he wished to bar out the imperial heresy wherever he could do so without personal risk. He had no reason, however, to be apprehensive of such tendencies in Hadrian's nominee."

108. Bright, ECH, 230, fn. 1.

that this point of view is in exact accord with the tenor of Bede's statement that Vitalian desired Hadrian "to prevent Theodore from introducing anything contrary to faith, after the manner of the Greeks, into the Church over which he was to preside."¹⁰⁹ Another possibility is that Theodore himself as a scholar of more or less philosophical patterns of thought sensed the philosopher's limitations when it comes to clarity and precision in matters of dogmatic theology. That he willingly accepted appointment under this somewhat humiliating condition would seem to demonstrate not only his own humility but a clear conscience with respect of his personal understanding of the Christian Faith.

The second condition of Theodore's appointment involved the matter of tonsure. From the evidence at hand, we gather that he made no protest over such a change, presumably recognizing that in differing branches of the Church, "what cannot be clearly determined to belong to Doctrine must be referred to Discipline; and therefore...may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended, or

109. The italics are ours. Cf. Bede, HE, IV, i. "Ne quid ille contrarium veritati fidei, Graecorum more, in ecclesiam cui praeesset, introduceret."

otherwise disposed of."¹¹⁰ Tonsure, although not unimportant, was definitely a matter of discipline and therefore could be altered.

Upon acceptance of these two conditions, Theodore was immediately ordained to the subdiaconate. If his period of waiting for further ordination, until his hair had grown sufficiently to permit the correction of his tonsure, was an exact four months, the ordination to the subdiaconate can be dated as on or about the 26th of November 667, since his consecration took place on Sunday, the 26th of March 668 which, as Bright has calculated, was the fifth Sunday of Lent, commonly called Passion Sunday.¹¹¹ Two points are worthy of note here: Ordinations during the earlier centuries of the Church are commonly supposed to have been performed during the Ember seasons. Now, neither of these two dates seems to fall anywhere near either the Advent or Lenten Ember

110. Cf. the statement of this principle many centuries later in the prefaces to the various editions of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, and the employment of the same principle as justification for significant departures in the Prayer Books of the much larger and in many ways more significant national and/or autonomous provinces of the world-wide Anglican Communion. Cf. also Louis A. HASELMAYER, Lambeth and Unity.

111. Bede, IV,1; Bright, ECH,230.

Days,¹¹² clear indication that seasons of the ecclesiastical year are made for the Church and not the Church for the liturgical calendar. Possibly, however, Theodore was able to look back upon his initial ordination as having occurred on or near St. Andrew's Day while his consecration was certainly distinguished by being performed on Passion Sunday.

Although it is perhaps impossible for us to provide a complete reconstruction of this service of consecration, several very obvious points are worthy of note. To begin with, Theodore had only been ordained to the subdiaconate four months perviously. When was he ordained deacon and priest? Or was ordination to these two orders not considered necessary? Two possibilities remained open. Either the three orders of deacon, priest, and bishop were conferred separately at the one service or (and this is the more likely) the consecration was clearly understood to be of a per saltum character, i.e., in being consecrated a summus sacerdos Theodore was at the same time being supplied with the necessary priestly

112. The Advent Ember days fall during the week following the third Sunday of Advent while the Lenten series follows the first Sunday of Lent.

ordination.¹¹³ Under the circumstances, ordination to the diaconate could have been only a meaningless formality and very possibly was subsumed under the more inclusive high-priestly order of bishop.

The service itself was conducted by Pope Vitalian, undoubtedly with the assistance of whatever available clergy were in Rome at the time.¹¹⁴ The ordinal employed was presumably the Latin one to be found in the Gregorian Sacramentary.¹¹⁵ If this was the case, and there seems to be no reason to doubt it, since no other ordinal had been used at Rome for many years, we can imagine, as Bright suggests, Pope Vitalian laying his hands upon the venerable oriental monk and subdeacon, now properly tonsured in the Roman fashion and praying that,

Whatever of excellence had of old time been symbolized by the gold and gems and precious colours of the Aaronic vestments might shine forth...through brightness of character and of action: [that in him] might abound con-

113. William HUNT, *Art.* (1921) assumes that all three orders were conferred on the same day. This, however, does not help us to decide whether the three orders were conferred separately or per saltum.

114. Cf. Liber Pontificalis for the year 668.

115. The Gregorian Sacramentary may be found in Muratori, Lit. Rom. Vet. ii, 357ff.

stancy of faith, purity of love, sincerity in following after peace: [that the] Author of all dignities might give him the episcopal chair to rule His church and people, [and] might be Himself his authority, his firmness, and his power.¹¹⁶

7. Theodore's Journey to Canterbury.

One of the most adventuresome scenes to which we have access in the career of Archbishop Theodore is that of his long, arduous journey from Rome to Canterbury. That the second great missionary expedition from the Roman See to the Church in England was delayed for two months after Theodore's final consecration may seem strange. Since the documents available record none of the details of the delay, we are simply left to surmise that the additional two months were necessary to complete the equipping of the expedition and perhaps to make certain that travelling would be undertaken during the more favourable late spring and early summer. Tales of the somewhat more severe British winters were probab-

116. We are indebted here to Bright for his well-turned translation. Bright, ECH, 230. Bright also calls attention to the remarkable wording of the prayer, part of which dated from the Gelasian form used four centuries earlier. "Illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostrae mentis ornatus est; et pontificalem gloriam non jam nobis honor commendat vestium, sed splendor animarum." Muratori, i.625.

ly very vividly retained in the minds of a Greek monk and a North-African abbot whose reluctance to leave the sunny climes of Italy for their unknown adventures and surroundings in Britain were only conquered by their passion for their Lord and the advancement of His Church.

Thus far we have observed little attention being paid to the position of Theodore's various ordinations in or near prominent days of the Christian year. In all probability the exigencies of the situation had over-ruled close adherence to the usual Ember ordination seasons. Yet, the two months' delay before starting on the trip to Britain may have had no connection with the practical preparations incidental to the equipping of an expedition or delays in anticipation of favourable weather conditions. Rather does it seem very probable that the departure from Rome was postponed to permit full observance of the solemn days of Holy Week and the High Festival of Eastertide.

Whatever the reasons for the delay, the party left Rome on the 27th of May 668, the day before Pentecost. The festivities of Easter being over, Ascensiontide having been duly observed, the Natal Season of the Christian Church could now most appropriately be observed by the inauguration of an important expedition

the ultimate aim of which was to make possible among the people of Britain full enjoyment of the power and life of the Holy Spirit. With his immediate companions, Theodore had managed to assemble not only the experienced Hadrian together with his company of servants but an Englishman in the person of the devout and able Benedict Biscop. Benedict Biscop had made his first visit to the Eternal City in 665 and while there had been deeply impressed by the possibilities of the monastic life. Accordingly, he had withdrawn to Lerins where he had assumed the characteristic tonsure and taken the vows of a religious. Before returning to his native land he had revisited Rome in 667 and while there had engaged in making pilgrimages to the tombs of the apostles. Vitalian, however, while fully appreciative of the man's intense devotion, persuaded him of the practical need of the new missionary expedition for a native English companion to act as guide and interpreter and to introduce the new archbishop once he had reached the shores of England.¹¹⁷ Bede's

117. Bede, HA,3. "Et quia venerabilem Benedictum sapientum, industrium, religiosum ac nobilem virum fore conspexit, huic ordinatum cum suis omnibus commendavit episcopum, praecepitque ut relictâ peregrinatione quam pro Christo susceperat, commodi altioris intuitu patriam reversus, doctorem ei veritatis quem sedulo quaesierat adduceret, cui vel illo pergenti vel ibidem docenti, pariter interpretes existere posset et ductor. Fecit ut iusserat."

sole comment upon this Papal suggestion is a forceful epitome of apostolical obedience. "Benedict did as he was commanded."

The first stage of the journey was accomplished by sea to Massilia or Marseilles. That Theodore should have picked an ancient Greek city as the terminus of the first stage of his journey is rather interesting but probably only a matter of geographical coincidence. From there, they continued by land as far as the ancient see city of Arles where they made a formal visit upon Archbishop John, delivering to him the letters of commendation with which they had been provided by Pope Vitalian. Here they stayed for an indefinite period being required to wait until furnished with a passport by Ebroin, major-domo at the palace of King Clothaire III.¹¹⁸ At this point, it seems that Theodore and Hadrian continued their journey by different routes, Theodore going via Paris and

118. GUIZOT, History of the Franks, HOF, Chap.9, describes Ebroin as "the last great mayor of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy." This same person crosses the pages of Church history on several occasions: viz., his dealings with Bishop Leodegar (St. Leger); in October 678, and later with Bishop Wilfrid. Upon Ebroin has also been laid the blame for the execution of Archbishop Aunemund. A blindly enthusiastic protagonist of the Merovingian kings, Ebroin seldom hesitated to exterminate those suspected of political anarchy and to ask questions afterwards. Cf. also KITCHIN, History of the Franks, HOF, I, 95.

Hadrian making a temporary visit to Bishop Emme of Sens and Bishop Faro of Meaux.¹¹⁹ The only reason for this temporary separation seems to be that the entire summer was now past, winter was at hand, and it had been decided that it would be wise to stay in France until spring before attempting to cross the channel to England.¹²⁰ Archbishop Theodore, however, seems to have made good use of his time since he stayed in Paris as the guest of Bishop Agilbert. Now Agilbert was the former bishop of Wessex, with his see at Dorchester, and although he had received his early training in Ireland, was in Roman orders and had been consistently zealous for the correct ordering of the Church in England as may be seen from his participation in the Council of Whitby and later in his consecration of Wilfrid that archzealot of Roman discipline.¹²¹

119. Bright, ECH, 231, observes upon the authority of Mabillon, Ann. Bened., I, 448, 450, 343, that Hadrian "as monk and abbot...would be specially attracted towards prelates one of whom had given charters to monasteries, and the other had built a 'suburban monastery' where any foreigners were welcome guests."

120. Bede, HE, IV, i. "Coegerat enim eos imminens hiems ut ubicumque potuissent quieti manerent."

121. Bede, HE, III, vii.

From Agilbert, Theodore undoubtedly received a very thorough, howbeit possibly prejudiced, briefing as to the tremendous and complicated task which lay before him. Agilbert, himself, we recall had been of a somewhat impetuous nature and in certain respects had evidenced a rather unco-operative temperament. Not only had he come over from Ireland to England and attached himself to King Cenwalh but he had taken upon himself of his own accord the ministry of preaching.¹²² Presumably the king chose to take advantage of this energetic soul, legally established him as bishop among the West Saxons, and attached him to the see of Dorchester lately held by Bishop Birinus. That this arrangement did not prove successful is indicated by the king's arbitrary division of the diocese, carving the see of Winchester from the larger diocese and bestowing it upon Bishop Wini. The reason for the sudden cooling of relations between the king and the bishop was simply stated that Agilbert had never taken the trouble to learn the language of the nation and had proved to be a source of annoyance with his foreign ways. Loosing pa-

122. "Coniunxitque se regi, sponte ministerium praedicandi adsumens: cuius eruditionem atque industriam videns rex, rogavit eum, accepta ibi sede episcopali, suae gentis manere pontificem."

tience with the king who had gone beyond his civil powers by presuming to redefine the geographical boundaries of a spiritual jurisdiction, Agilbert resigned and returned to France. We can well imagine the agrieved Agilbert telling Theodore of the difficulties which he had experienced while in Britain. Whether Theodore uncritically accepted all that Agilbert told him is impossible to determine, although it is worth noting that Theodore himself in later years took especial care to avoid exercising spiritual jurisdiction in situations which might conflict with the temporal power. Perhaps Agilbert himself, somewhat mellowed after his unhappy experiences as bishop of Dorchester, advised the newly consecrated archbishop to handle with care the explosive problem of temporal-spiritual jurisdiction.¹²³

Meanwhile, King Egbert had received word by messenger that the new archbishop was on the way.¹²⁴

123. We observe that Agilbert and King Cenwalh were reconciled after it had been found necessary to expel the simonious Wini and that the Bishop of Paris although declining to leave his new see (which according to ancient tradition was to be retained for life) acceded to help him by dispatching Lothere that he might be presented to Theodore for consecration to the episcopate.

124. It is in this connection that we discover again one of Bede's more ambiguous and inexplicable remarks. He refers to Theodore as "the bishop whom they (Kings Oswy and Egbert) had desired of the Roman (bishop)." "Episcopum quem petierant a Romano."

Learning, too, that the bishop and his companions were delaying in the kingdom of the Franks, King Egbert dispatched Redfrid, one of his administrative officials, to facilitate the remainder of the journey.¹²⁵ Upon Redfrid's arrival in France, and with the leave of Ebroin, Redfrid and Theodore went on to the port of Quentauc (on the river Canche), which is now known as Etaples. Political considerations once more cloud the picture and although Theodore was permitted to continue the trip with Redfrid, Hadrian was retained by Ebroin who suspected him of being a secret agent of the new Emperor Constantine IV to the kings of Britain.¹²⁶ An alliance between the kings of Britain and the Emperor against the kingdom of the Franks was apparently not considered to be an impossibility.¹²⁷

125. Bright, ECH, 232, fn. 1, notes that this Redfrid held the position of 'reeve' or 'prefect,' a type of administrative assistant or 'righthand man' who often figured in the chronicles of the seventh century. Cf. Bede, HE, III, xiv, "praefectum suum Ediluinum," the slayer of St. Oswin; Ep. Egb. 7; Vit. Cuth. 15, in B. COLGRAVE, Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert, TLC.

126. Upon the death of Constans II at Syracuse, Constantine IV had succeeded to the throne in 668. Cf. Bright, ECH, 232; E. Gibbon, Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, RFRE.

127. Bede, HE, IV, 1. "Hadrianum autem Ebrinus retinuit, quoniam suspicabat eum habere aliquam legationem imperatoris ad Brittaniae reges adversus regnum."

Theodore's sojourn at Etaples was not a pleasant one for the already aging archbishop had broken under the strain. Whether he had fallen prey to some disease or specific bodily ailment is impossible to determine. The Venerable Bede's observation simply seems to indicate that the strain of seventh-century travel had been too much for a man of Theodore's years.¹²⁸ When he had begun to mend, the trip was resumed and Theodore made what was apparently an uneventful crossing of the channel into England.

What a welcome day it must have been, not only for Bishop Theodore and his party but for the Kings of Kent and Northumbria and their shepherdless peoples, when the cathedra which Augustine had established at Canterbury nearly seventy-two years before was once more occupied by a duly appointed archbishop. And what a solemn and joyous occasion it must have been when on that second Sunday after Pentecost, 27 May 669, Archbishop Theodore ascended his episcopal throne and presently standing behind the altar of the Basilica of Christ our Saviour,

128. "Quentauc, ubi fatigatus infirmitate aliquantisper moratus est; et cum convalescere coepisset, navigavit Brittaniam."

raised his hands in Holy Eucharist to Almighty God for the heritage which was his and besought the Divine blessing upon his arduous labours in the years ahead.¹²⁹ Thus began one of the most significant primacies in the long and eventful history of the English Church, a rule which the faithful Bede records was to continue for "twenty-one years, three months, and twenty-six days."¹³⁰

129. We assume, upon the architectural evidence suggested by Clapham, ERA,16-25, and Browne, AEE, that the archbishop used his cathedra and altar in the manner customary in the ancient basilicas of Italy and the East--a practice which may have been not at all unusual to Theodore of Tarsus. "Ascended the episcopal throne" is King's rendering of "Theodorus sedem episcopatus conscendit." Bede, VSA,3.

130. Bede, HE,IV,ii.

CHAPTER THREE

FAMILIA EPISCOPALIS CANTUARIII

Having arrived at Canterbury and taken possession of his cathedral Church of Our Saviour, Archbishop Theodore almost immediately undertook some of the many tasks which he found confronting him. If the list provided in the Venerable Bede's narrative be correct, Theodore set himself to four specific projects.¹ First, in company with Abbot Hadrian, he made a rapid, introductory survey of his immediate jurisdiction;² secondly, also in association with his scholarly assistant, he established the Schola Cantuarii; thirdly, he sponsored the extension of the liturgical reforms which until then had been known (and then probably in a rather haphazard fashion) only in the churches of Kent; fourthly, he began what turned out to be one of the most difficult yet strategic aspects of his primacy, the reorganization of the

1. Bede, HE, IV, ii.

2. Several of the old Roman roads were still used for travel over parts of England. Cf. Edward CUTTS, St. Cedd's Cross: A Tale of the Conversion of the East Saxons, SCC, 4, 5. One of the roads began near Tilbury running down through Kent, while on the opposite shore (connection by ferry was perhaps possible), the road continued on northward through East Saxony.

episcopate in terms of new bishops and the foundation of a series of smaller and more efficient sees.

1. The Nature of a Seventh-Century Bishop.

An understanding of the religious milieu in which Theodore found himself and to which he himself presently was to contribute so markedly, will be impossible, however, if we allow ourselves to think merely within the terms of the telescoped narrative with which Bede has provided us. Furthermore, Bede's record of the four tasks to which Theodore set himself must be understood in terms of long-range strategy and not merely as a literal memorandum of the archbishop's accomplishments during his first month in England. That Theodore "soon traveled over the entire island" is, indeed, notable;³ how "soon" he began this tremendous undertaking cannot easily be determined. That the statement is not to be read outside its context would be almost imperative, for Bede goes on to offer more specific information which seems to qualify what at first appears to us as rather incredible. Bede may have intended that this statement

3. Bede, HE, IV, 11. "Moxque peragrata insula tota quaquaversum Anglorum gentes morabantur."

was to be understood as including only the tribes of a limited area of southern England. What else it included is impossible to determine. Thus, it would seem probable that after a relatively short rest upon his arrival at Canterbury--not immediately but "soon" after his reception, yet early enough to take advantage of the kindly weather of the summer months--, Theodore made a rapid survey of at least his immediate jurisdiction. Moreover, the trip was made in company with Hadrian who, although he had been detained on the continent for an indeterminate period, apparently arrived in time to make the trip with his bishop.⁴ This initial visitation was something more than a series of merely social visits upon friendly tribal chiefs and their peoples, for Bede carefully notes that it was marked by an exposition of the Christian moral life and an archiepiscopal charge which ordered the canonical observance of the Church Year.⁵ While it would

4. It is not necessary to suppose that Hadrian was delayed for a period of two years. This would throw the entire chronology off, including the date of this visitation and the assembling of the Council of Hertford a year or two later. Cf. Bede, HE, IV, 1, 11, with VSA, 3, 4.

5. Bede, HE, IV, 11. "Rectum vivendi ordinem, ritum paschae celebrandi canonicum, per omnia comitante et cooperante Hadriano disseminabat."

be unreasonable to conclude that Theodore did nothing else on this tour, we can discover only one other item to which Bede makes specific mention and that is the second of the four major tasks which we have enumerated; and if the space which Bede assigned to the subject be indicative of its importance, certainly it may be inferred that the recruiting of possible students for a clerical school at Canterbury--students who ultimately would become candidates for Holy Orders--was an important and integral part of the new archbishop's initial tour of England.⁶ These two tasks, together with the third, the extension of the Roman liturgical reforms, are of primary importance in our attempt to understand the nature and work of a seventh-century archbishop. Furthermore, although of less enduring significance than the fourth task,--the ecclesiastical re-organization of the entire Church in England--, these first three tasks point to an understanding of the episcopal order and its vocation which will be en-

6. Bede, HE, IV, 11. "Et quia literis sacris simul et saecularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterva, scientiae salutaris quotidie flumina irrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant." "Congregata" can perhaps be best translated here in terms of "recruitment."

tirely missed if one seeks to interpret Theodore solely in the role of ecclesiastical organizer. Theodore of Tarsus, although archbishop of Canterbury and in token of this invested with a vast, if undefinable, territorial jurisdiction, was first of all a bishop in the Church of God, and it is as bishop, a seventh-century bishop moreover, in what was still in large measure missionary territory, that Theodore must be understood.

Already, we have taken care to suggest something of the nature of the religious establishment at Canterbury as introduced by its first missionary archbishop, St. Augustine.⁷ In so doing, we insisted that the label of "Benedictine monasticism" should be withheld from the Augustinian expedition. And now, even if it be conceded that the Theodoran age represents a period of transition from a semi-religious life to the well-disciplined and fully organized Benedictine monasticism (just as this period also represents the transition from scattered and unorganized missionary districts to the carefully defined ecclesiastical jurisdiction of provinces and dioceses under a well integrated episcopal and archi-

7. Cf. Chapter I, p. 6-8.

episcopal hierarchy), we must continue to insist that this convenient nomenclature be withheld.⁸ As the great contemporary authority in English constitutional history recognizes,

the process is one which we have seen before in the reception of the Christian clergy in the previous century, and incorporation of vassalage into the law of the folk, determined by the precedents of folkright and of the law of kindred, and extending to it many of the latter's incidents.⁹

Our earlier designation of the episcopal familia is still appropriate, although as we shall see, the foundation of the later monastic structure was being firmly, if tentatively laid. Upon his arrival, the archbishop immediately appointed Benedict Biscop as temporary chaplain of the monastery of the Blessed Peter the Apostle.¹⁰ In the meanwhile, Theodore and Hadrian made their

8. Miss Deanesly, Little, EMHPT, 12, is uncompromising in her insistence that whatever monastic discipline was fostered at Canterbury was not the product of its archbishops' labours. "Wilfrid was responsible for re-introducing the communal life at Christ Church."

9. Joliffe, CHME, 17.

10. Bede, VSA, 3, 4. Nineteenth-century Roman scholars, such as Cabrol, ACAN, 137, were always quick to use such evidence as proof of the work of formally organized monastic orders. "En somme au VIIe siècle l'élément monastique est encore dominant; le ministère de la prédication et de l'évangélisation, on a du déjà s'en rendre compte par cette histoire, est accompli par les moines ou dans des églises qui dépendent des monastères."

initial survey of southern England and began to collect the students who were to make up the new school at Canterbury. Only then, perhaps one to two years later when this and other preliminary tasks had been completed could Hadrian be installed as abbot of the monastic community of the Blessed Saint Peter the Apostle, an institution which he and Theodore were to integrate into their larger clerical educational programme, and Benedict Biscop be released to make his third trip to Rome for the specific purpose of assembling a library of basic ecclesiastical books that he in turn might establish a school of learning in Northumbria.¹¹ In many respects, this school would compare with the one which Theodore and Hadrian were in the process of establishing at Canterbury. It must be noted, however, that Benedict Biscop, like Bishop Wilfrid,

11. Cf. B. THORPE (ed.), Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi, Chronicon Ex Chronicis, CEC, I, 28-42. "Biscop, qui et Benedictus, tertio Romam venit. Quo tempore erat Romae monachus Theodorus, Tharso Ciliciae natus, saeculari et ecclesiastica philosophia praedictus, Graece et Latine sufficienter instructus, probus moribus, annorum LXVI. Hunc VII. Kal. Aprilium Dominica ordinatum archiepiscopum, Biscopo, quia vir sapiens erat ac strenuus, papa Vitalianus Britanniam perducendum, simul et abbatum commendavit Adrianum." "...Benedicto, qui et Biscop, monasterium beati Petri apostoli, abbatis jure, regendum dedit." Browne, EECH, 31, is of the opinion that "Biscop stayed for two years, teaching his school as abbot of St. Peter's at Canterbury, till Hadrian came from Rome to relieve him."

was an eager enthusiast for the communal religious life and it is very probable that his own foundation differed somewhat from that of Theodore and Hadrian in respect of the thoroughness with which the members followed the Rule of the greater Benedict.¹²

In our earlier discussion of Saint Augustine and his episcopal familia, we noted that this expansion of the bishop's immediate household was generally in the form of a school in which he himself, with whatever scholarly men he had at hand, might train those youths who showed some promise as candidates for Holy Orders.¹³ In the Britain of the seventh century, there could be no doubt as to the necessity of such a procedure. The remnants of the old Roman imperial system of schools which recently had been falling into decay on the continent had long since been completely erased from the British Isles. The only way in which Theodore could build up a body of adequate native clergy was to train them himself, and whatever

12. Dom David KNOWLES, The Monastic Order in England, MOE, 21,23, remarks on the fact of Piscop having taken the name of the great founder of western monasticism. Yet, "he alluded to the Rule of St. Benedict in somewhat the same way as St. Benedict himself referred to that of St. Basil, as a document of great authority rather than as the one binding code." Cf. also Bede, VSAW, 11.

13. Cf. Chapter I, p.7f.

ideas certain of his companions or contemporaries might have had of a quietly isolated Benedictine monastery founded upon the remains of Augustine's earlier semi-monastic community had to be laid aside, at least, temporarily. Even the saintly Benedict Biscop, who later was permitted to found his own monastic communities in the north, was not to be allowed to have his monastic predilections run away with him. The original plan of a clergy school had to come first.¹⁴ Thus, Benedict, as we noted above, was released to pursue his work at Wearmouth after another visit to Rome, while Hadrian and Theodore went forward with the inauguration of the Schola Cantuarii. Despite occasional attempts to prove to the contrary, there is no evidence to support the claim that this school was organized either upon the Rule of St. Basil or the well-recognized western Rule of St. Benedict. The Canterbury familia was by its very nature, markedly different from the foundations of Benedict Biscop or the monastic innovations which may be traced to Bishop Wilfrid. There is no evidence that either Theodore or Hadrian attempted to perpetuate a favorite rule of religious life. Rather were

14. Pede, HE, IV, 1.

they simply following what was common practice in and around a centre of episcopal rule and residence.¹⁵ And in this particular instance, by reason of their own massive learning, they were enabled to give more than average attention to the advancement of sound clerical training.

Whatever else Theodore was, he was certainly head of a traditional familia at Canterbury and, by what Miss Deanesly has called a natural process of devotion, made the episcopate once more a genuine ordo doctorum.¹⁶ The word familia is thus the key to our understanding of the seventh-century archbishop, while the words 'parish,' 'diocese,' and 'province' each take a subordinate place. 'Parish' and 'diocese' were used interchangeably as late as the tenth century; both designated what was more often than not a rather indefinite area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over which a bishop presided.¹⁷

15. Mabillon's remarks, ASOB, 1030, on this point are sheer exaggeration if not pure imagination. "Eum tamen majoribus typis donamus, quod eius acta alligata sint cum gestis S. Adriani Abbatis, quem Benedictionae Regulae paruisse conspicuum est. Nam praeterquam quod abbas erat in Monasterio Niridano prope Neapolim non ita procul a Cassino monte; abbas institutus est coenobii S. Petri in suburbio Cantuariensi quod coenobium Regulam S. Benedicti servabat."

16. Deanesly, HMC, 32.. Cf. Chapter I, p. 7f.

17. Deanesly, HMC, 31; Bright, ECH, 189. Cf. Plummer, VBHE,

The term, 'province,' was also used to denote a larger civil jurisdiction and, although occasionally employed by Bede in an episcopal context--often ambiguously--, at this time had little specific ecclesiastical significance.¹⁸

Is it possible, now, in the light of these observations, to imagine a reasonable reconstruction of the nature of Theodore's own Canterbury familia? The present writer is of the opinion that such a reconstruction is possible and that the evidence as provided by the Venerable Bede and the key to its interpretation as furnished by Miss Deanesly and authenticated by such secu-

212. "Parrochia: The word paroikia, parochia, is the collective of paroikos, and is applied to the body of Christians living as 'strangers and pilgrims,' paroikoi kai parepidemoi, in any place.... More specifically, it meant the body of Christians living under one bishop; but it soon came to mean the area in which they dwelt, i.e. the modern diocese; in which sense it is used throughout this document." 204, "A diocese, in the political terminology of the later Roman empire, was the union of several provinces. Hence, when the word was transferred to the ecclesiastical sphere it indicated, not a diocese in the modern sense, for which the original term was paroikia,...but the union of several (ecclesiastical) provinces under a patriarch, or of several dioceses (in the modern sense) under an archbishop; i.e. an (ecclesiastical) province. On the other hand, it was also used to denote 'baptismalis ecclesiae territorium;' i.e. the modern parish."

18. Cf. Joliffe, CHME, 10.

lar historians as Joliffe, Stenton, and Stubbs are of such a calibre that they insure a basis of sound historical facts.¹⁹

In our historical imagination, then, we can see two venerable scholars, one a Greek and the other a North African, making their way among the friendly tribes of southern England. As they go from place to place, the elder of them, archbishop of the Church at Canterbury--by papal consecration and royal permission--presents his credentials to the various tribal chieftains. With their assent, he preaches a short sermon on the elemental precepts of the Christian moral life. Generally, it is necessary for him to speak with the aid of an interpreter but, nevertheless, he makes his point. He concludes with a solemn charge and plea for the correct observance of the crowning Festival of the Christian Year, Easter Day. And an orthodox celebration of Easter would require the faithful following of the Roman Church Year. The assembled peoples are duly impressed; they may not have understood all that the new archbishop has said but they note his sincerity, they revere his age, and they are inspired with a new confidence in the Christian Faith

19. Cf. William STUBBS, The Constitutional History of England, I, 51ff, 69-72. Stenton, AES, 147.

for which he pleads. Furthermore, although they may be somewhat dubious as to the absolute necessity of following the Roman Church Year, they give their assent, happy in the renewed concern which the great bishop of the far-off city of Rome has shown by sending these two men to lead their branch of the Church in England. Tribal leaders are especially challenged by the learning which these two priests manifest; they approve the personal interest which they take in some of the promising young men in each tribe; and they give their consent that these boys may join the archbishop and abbot in their projected school in the city of Canterbury.²⁰

Within a relatively few years, a steady stream of students was flowing to and from the episcopal cathedra in the ancient city of Doruwerensis. Once more and on a scale hitherto unattained in England, the ecclesiastical buildings at Canterbury teemed with life and the bishop's chair became a veritable seat of learning. Some of the boys came from families of noble parentage. These, at least, would be ordained as lectors; others from this group who by their inclination for learning and integrity

20. Cf. this with the civil, tribal relationship of mundbora and gesith. Joliffe, CHME, 14-16.

of personal conduct showed marked promise would continue their training for the sacerdotium. But the school was made up of others besides sons of tribal chieftains, for the Christian Church needed men from all classes to serve in its ranks. Boys of free birth joined with the sons of the coloni, and sometimes even promising young serfs on the bishop's own estate were given the privilege of study at the feet of these two scholars.

With such an assemblage of students, it was inevitable that the bishop's immediate household soon overflowed its walls and a simple but practical organization of personnel in terms of daily chores was required. Details of housework within the bishop's own home could be divided among students; the sacristans' duties in the basilica and its adjoining chapels might be assigned to those students who, having progressed in their studies, were considered suitable for ordination to this minor ecclesiastical office. In many cases, such men never advanced beyond this minor order. Others undoubtedly served as monitors in the student hostels to keep order; still others performed the necessary menial tasks of domestics. Very probably a considerable proportion of the older clerks in minor orders were married; in such cases, wives and families provided the necessary supply of lab-

our as cooks and domestic servants of the church. Other persons, of a distinctly servant class, probably rarely, if ever, achieved either the rank of minor orders or the advantages of education.²¹ A community of such varied personnel constituted a real hive of daily activity; under the circumstances, its very size and complexity gave rise to a variety of problems, disciplinary and otherwise.

Daily, the ordained clergy, including at least the clerks in minor orders and older students, assembled in the basilica for the saying of the morning and evening offices and most important of all to assist²² at the offering of the Holy Eucharist.²³ As the commun-

21. Cf. the modern definition of a 'familiar' as "a member of the household of a high church dignitary who renders domestic but not menial services." Webster's New International Dictionary, (Merriam-Webster). Recall, too, the late Professor Coulton's researches into the social structure of the medieval Church and his discovery of evidence indicating the use of large numbers of slave personnel. The Abbot Hadrian's servants seem to have been in this class. Bede, HE, IV, i. Cf. also Pen. I, viii, c. 4; II, xiii.

22. The word "assist" is here used in the sense of "to be present," as in the French "assister à."

23. This is not the place to elaborate on the practice of daily worship in the Theodoran Church; we simply refer to the tradition carried forward by Bede himself as to "the wholesome custom of daily receiving the Lord's Body and Blood." Bede, Ep. ad Egbertum, 15. "Quam salutaris sit omni Christianorum generi quotidiana Domini corporis ac Sanguinis perceptio,..."

ity grew in size, the immediate familia was perhaps divided and separate services were maintained in the other churches of the city. Particularly would this be so of those attempting to live the more distinctively religious life.²⁴ Thus, although in certain respects, the Canterbury familia reveals several of the more characteristic marks of the discipline of the religious life, it is still not the life of coenobitic monasticism. Certain of the married clergy continued to live with their families; economically, the institution of private property remained intact; while the nearest approach to a vow of obedience was the oath of loyalty to the bishop himself and this was a feature which closely paralleled the fealty of gesith and mundbora rather than of monk and abbot.²⁵ The remaining members of the community

24. Among the previous churches at Canterbury, in addition to the cathedral, were certainly the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, erected ca.597, St. Mary's, ca.620, and St. Pancras, also dating from the Augustinian mission. Although the latter two churches may have been in a state of dilapidation, it would seem probable that all three were usable. Cf. Clapham, ERA,19-25.

25. R. A. L. SMITH, Eng. Hist. Rev., Sept. (1945),289-299, "The Early Community of St. Andrew at Rochester, 604-c.1080." Art. (1945), 290, "The community was secular in origin and continued to be so without interruption until the Norman Conquest." Cf. also Stubbs, DCB, iii,592. Smith's additional summary of the characteris-

may have shared in these services only on Sundays and major Holy Days. Following morning worship, the students together with Archbishop Theodore and the Abbot Hadrian would adjourn for the day's study. Others would return to their tasks of daily labour whether around the grounds of the community or in their own quarters. Between the years 600 and 750, the bishop generally taught the younger clerks in person. Later, when weighed down by other cares, he delegated this basically episcopal responsibility to one of his senior presbyters.²⁶ In the case of Archbishop Theodore, there was always the constant assistance of his able companion, the abbot Hadrian.

tics of this contemporary community is pertinent. "In spite of certain obvious similarities between the two types of foundation--the communal life, the recitation of the canonical hours, the attendance at Mass of the laity--the fact remains that monastic life at Kent was based on the Rule of St. Benedict and the practice of the basilical monasteries of Rome, while the lives of communities of secular clerks, though corporate in spirit and organisation, involved neither the surrender of private property nor the solemn vow of obedience." We would also note that it is impossible to set forth with clarity the question of marriage and the clergy. It seems very probable that "unofficial dispensations" were given thus permitting marriage by clerks in minor orders.

26. Miss Deanesly suggests, HMC, 33, that "this most important duty began to devolve on the senior presbyter of [the] familia. In large and well organized familiae before the barbarian invasions, the senior presbyter had been termed the archpresbyter, as the senior deacon had been termed the archdiaconus."

2. Episcopal Leadership in Corporate Worship.

Under such a familial organisation of his household and assisting clergy, it seems almost certain that Theodore as bishop exercised an immediate leadership and supervision over the corporate worship of the community. This is not to say that leading presbyters such as the Abbot Hadrian, Benedict Biscop, and others did not have their share in the conduct of the daily worship but it is to suggest that there were very definite limits upon their participation. Eddius Stephanus, for example, may have been limited to specific duties in the conduct of the choir offices which roughly would correspond to those of our modern cathedral precentor. In the case of the actual celebration of the Liturgy, on the other hand, it is possible that Theodore as bishop retained this as his episcopal right and privilege, at least so far as the celebration in the central Canterbury church was concerned. Senior presbyters were undoubtedly commissioned to celebrate elsewhere, but at the cathedral church, it seems reasonable to suppose that the actual conduct of the Divine Liturgy was in the hands of Theodore, assisted by a full retinue of other clergy. In some cases, perhaps, the assisting presbyters joined with him and concelebrated; in almost every case, there eventually must have

been an ample supply of deacons, subdeacons, and lectors both for the administration, reading of the Epistle and Gospel, and perhaps for the recitation of the morning and evening offices with their respective scripture lections.

Any attempt to establish the liturgical use authorized and employed by Archbishop Theodore himself is inevitably surrounded by questionable speculations and the disappointment which comes to the scholar when faced with an almost complete absence of intelligible documentary evidence. We recall the sound advice which Pope Gregory had given to Saint Augustine. This instruction permitted a variety in those peculiarities of local practice which were of secondary rather than of essential importance.²⁷ Presumably, however, Augustine formulated a more or less standard liturgy using as his norm the Mass with which he had been familiar while at Rome, although from the tone of his question and Gregory's answer, it is very possible that his resultant liturgy was more Gallican than Roman. The great Abbé Duchesne was content to identify that liturgy which obtained in the British Isles before the missions of the seventh

27. Bede, HE, I, xxvii, q. 2

century with those of the Church of Spain before the eleventh century and the Church of Gaul before Charlemagne. Yet, whatever may have been the case in the first six centuries, the seventh century, according to Duchesne, found the members of the Roman missions introducing the revised Roman Liturgy which they had brought with them.²⁸ That these introductions were accompanied by instruction in the Gregorian musical modes, we have already noted. Yet, we would not wish to go so far as to claim that either Saint Augustine or Archbishop Theodore achieved or even sought for immediate liturgical uniformity. A musical setting for the singing of Mass, however, would almost presuppose a minimum standard of liturgical sequence whatever the requirements of local ceremonial practice.²⁹ Yet, however desirable a minimum of uniformity may have been, traces of certain ceremonial remains seem to be clear signs that a wide variety of liturgical practice was tolerated for an indefinite period within the churches of England.

28. Louis DUCHESNE, (tr. M. L. McClure), Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, (3rd. Eng. ed.), 90, 98.

29. We would not push this suggestion too far, however, for the Gregorian mode itself was mainly characterized by wide flexibility and adaptability.

One literary fossil, for instance, is that of the episcopal benediction which may be seen here and there in various early English liturgies.³⁰ The well-known Book of Deer, the Irish Books of Dimna, and the Manuscripts of St. Gall, all have traces of Gallican tendencies, while the famous Antiphonary of Bangor is entirely free from any trace of the newer Roman influence.³¹ The Stowe Missal, on the other hand, is marked by its litany between the Epistle and Gospel. This is obviously of the same type as used in the oriental liturgies and is also witnessed to by the Apostolical Constitutions. "We may go further," claims Duchesne, "and say that the examples given are nothing more than translations from a Greek text. The litany is precisely the same as in the Litany of Constantinople."³² Certain other passages show traces

30. Cabrol, ACAN, 297. "Les usages gallicans retenus par l'Eglise d'Angleterre se réduisent à la bénédiction que l'évêque donne avant la communion (plusieurs collections très précieuses nous en ont été conservées dans les pontificaux anglais; quelques uns de ces livres par suite même de la présence de ces bénédictions ont gardé le titre de Bénédictionnaires), et aux noms de saint George, de saint Benoît, de saint Martin, de saint Grégoire inserés au canon."

31. Duchesne, CW, 120, summarizes this situation by saying that "From the British Isles we have merely mixed manuscripts of the eighth century, or earlier, in which local rites are curiously combined with those of the Roman Church."

32. Duchesne, CW, 199. Cf. also Brightman, 373.

of an oblationary prayer as well as a "processio oblationis." This was a ceremonial custom which was common to the Gallican and Oriental rites as distinct from the offering of the people in the newer Roman Mass.³³ These are only a few of the peculiar characteristics of liturgical practice from the time of Saint Augustine through the primacy of Archbishop Theodore. He would be a rash student, indeed, who would attempt to make any categorical statement as to liturgical uniformity during this particular period. Such being the case, our immediate task must confine itself to the establishing of some degree of responsibility for liturgical leadership at Canterbury, and the attempt to measure it by what may be known of the developments in the 'standard' Roman Mass.

Several mentions have already been made of the letter from Pope Gregory to Augustine. Generally this letter has been accepted as authentic although the exception which Abbe Duchesne took to it is indeed notable. This great French liturgiologist was of the opinion that a successor of Saint Augustine such as Theodore

33. Duchesne, CW, 201-204. Cf. also W. STOKES, The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal, IPSM, 8, 14.

probably settled the liturgical practices of the English Church. Besides this, however, he felt it reasonable to call in question the Gregorian authorship of the letter and to ascribe it to Theodore himself. To quote Duchesne again,

No Roman, above all no Pope, could have written it, but a man such as Theodore, who up to the time of his elevation to the Episcopate, had used the Greek rite, might, when called upon to judge in a conflict between two Latin rites, well have shown a spirit of impartiality. I should not be surprised if he were the author of the 'interrogations' of Augustine and the 'answers of Gregory.' He might, without being in the least a 'faussaire,' have found it useful to give in this form his ideas concerning discipline and Liturgy.³⁴

Few contemporary scholars, however, have found it necessary to agree with the French liturgist's speculations. Granted that the letter was not found by Boniface when in 745 he made a search for it in the Roman archives, the fact remains that it would not have been unreasonable for Pope Gregory who for some years had resided at Constantinople as apocrisarius of the Pope and knew the Greek rite, to have shown such commendable breadth of spirit. If this defense of the letter be accepted, the document is convincing evidence not only of the presence of irregulari-

34. Duchesne, CW, 88-99. Cf. the discussion in J. COMPER, A Popular Handbook on the Origin, History And Structure of Liturgies, 192.

ties, but of an official charity of mind which was able to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials. There seems little doubt that Archbishop Theodore inherited such a tradition of liberality in liturgical regulations. Whatever distrust Pope Vitalian had expressed relative to Theodore as a Greek was directed toward serious problems of theological controversy and not toward matters of liturgical uniformity.

It would be folly, however, to ignore the fact that certain well-recognized liturgical reforms--or more accurately, developments, often in the nature of liturgical accretions--had been taking place for several generations under the sponsorship of the Bishop of the Roman See. Although evidence of a continuing variety of usage in the churches of Gaul and Britain was to be found for some centuries, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that Archbishop Theodore was familiar with these developments both from his period of residence at the Monastery of Niridanum where they may have been combined with the Greek rites and from his months at Rome while awaiting the conferring of Holy Orders and the equipment of his expedition to Britain. How faithfully the new archbishop followed the new Roman standard is impossible to determine. That he incorporated into his own use any

specific items ordered by the Pope would seem to be a reasonable inference;³⁵ that he continued to employ certain characteristic acts of Greek ceremonial within the framework of Roman conformity would also seem to be not improbable.

Standard practice according to a faithful following of Roman leadership in the late seventh century would seem to have required the unfailing use of both water and wine as well as bread for the celebration of Holy Communion.³⁶ The recitation of the scriptural hymn, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, as authorized by Pope Xistus, the seventh occupant of the Roman See, was well established long before the seventh century.³⁷ The

35. The twelfth-century work of SIGEBERTUS, Gemblacensis Monachus, Opera Omnia; Chronica cum Omnibus Auctariis, (Migne, PL), 59-541, provides one of the standard medieval lists of these liturgical developments in the midst of a catena of quotations from Bede, Burchardus, Gregory's Pontifical, etc. Cf. also Dom Gregory DIX, The Shape of The Liturgy, 452-472, 485ff, 518, 549-589, for a modern critical account of liturgical development.

36. Sigebertus, Chron., sec. 688. "Memoria dominicae passionis ad conservationem eucharistiae, et sicut de latere crucifixi Jesus effluxit sanguis et aqua, ita aquam vino misceri in ipsa conservatione instituit, nec vinum sine aqua, nec aquam sine vino offerri debere discernens." Dix, SOL, 104.

37. Sigebertus, Chron., sec. 688. "Primus Xistus, 7us papa, ymnus Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus." Cf. Dix, SOL, 165ff., 197, 221, 467fn., 537, 551.

Gloria in Excelsis Deo was traditionally ordered by Pope Telesphorus but whatever doubt there may be on this point is attested to by the Stowe Missal thus proving its use in England.³⁸ Recitation or more usually the singing of the Nicene Creed at least on high festivals was said to have been instituted by the thirty-fifth Pope, Damasus, and in accord with the second ecumenical council seems to have been widely accepted.³⁹ The familiar Roman sequences of Introit, Gradual, Offertory, and Communiones, derived from the Psalter, traditionally by Caelestinus, 41st pontiff, were commonly used in varying degree over western Europe by the end of the seventh century,⁴⁰ while

38. Sigebertus, Chron., sec.688. "Telesforus 8us papa quadragesimae iunium septem angelicum Gloria in excelsis Deo addidit." Dix, SOL,456fn., on the other hand comments as follows on the reference in Liber Pontificalis, I,263, "It seems hardly necessary to refute the assertion of [IP] that Pope Telesphorus 'ordained that before the sacrifice of the Angels' hymn...should be said but only on Christmas night' (IP,I,129). The festival of Christmas did not exist until, at the earliest, a century and a half after Telesphorus. At the most the statement may attest a vague tradition that the Gloria was occasionally used at Rome before Symmachus systematized and made official a growing practice." Cf. also Dix, SOL,452ff.,456ff.,464f., 468,659,667f.

39. Sigebertus, Chron., sec.688. "Damasus 35us papa Credo in unum Deum sollempnibus diebus cantari instituit et decreto secundae universalis synodi, a 150 episcopis Constantinopoli celebratae." Cf. Dix, SOL,474,477,485 ff., however, shows a much more complicated struggle of the Creed to achieve a recognized position in the Liturgy.

the collects and Prefaces dating from the time of Gelasius, 47th Pope were widely used although with notable variations.⁴¹ The traditional authorisation by Gregory of the Kyrie Eleison, and the Alleluia, and the placing of the Lord's Prayer immediately after the canon of consecration seems to have had wide favour in the West and perhaps, by reason of the Greek origin of the Kyrie Eleison found its way into Theodore's use.⁴² Introductions during the pontificate of Sergius, a contemporary of Theodore, included Agnus Dei, and the fixing of special festival days such as the Annunciation, the Nativity, and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁴³

40. Sigebertus, Chron., sec.688. "Caelestinus 41us papa introitus, gradualia, offertoria et communionem ex psalmis modulari antiphonatum instituit." Cf. Dix, SOL, gradual, 23,360,367fn.,471; offertory chant, 285ff.,492f.; propers, 360ff,537,541; where the available evidence shows that wide variety paralleled the development of the "Gelasian Sacramentary."

41. Sigebertus, Chron., sec.688. "Gelasius 47us papa collectas et prefationes composuit." Cf. Dix, SOL, prefaces, 165ff.,180f.,188,196f.,200,218ff.,300,367,500,527,537ff.,555,663; collects,360,363,367,372,447,458,461,464f.,468f.,490f. Again there seems to have been a wide variety of usage although the Gelasian Sacramentary appears to have enjoyed wide acceptance in the sixth and seventh centuries.

42. Sigebertus, Chron., sec.688. "Gregorius 61us papa Kyrieleyson Christe eleison et Alleluia extra quinquagesima et orationem dominicam, per quam solam apostoli consecrabant, post canon consecrationis addidit." Cf. Dix, SOL 131,226,364f.,375,377f.,400,404,429fn.,440fn.,453ff.,455fn.,

Whatever variations were present in the liturgies in use in England during Theodore's primacy, it is clear that he could not have been completely ignorant of the developments which had been taking place under Roman sponsorship. Furthermore, whatever acceptance or rejection of a specific liturgical development received archiepiscopal recognition presupposed some more or less 'standard shape' of the liturgy as officially sanctioned at Canterbury.

That a liturgy following this general Gallican-Roman outline was used at Canterbury in the early part of the eighth century would seem to be indicated by the researches of Martin Rule into the "missal" of St. Augustine's Abbey.⁴⁴ The evidence which may be drawn from a study of this document is of two sorts, both of which are rather indirect for our purposes but as evidence constitute at least a circumstantially convincing

457,461fn.,468,491,508,565ff.,570ff.

43. Sigebertus, Chron., sec.688. "Ad haec omnia hic Sergius hoc ultimum addidit, ut inter communicandum Agnus Dei a clero cantetur. Constituit etiam ut in annuntiatione Domini, in festivitate quae dicitur ypapanti Domini, in nativitate et assumptione sancti Mariae ex-eant letaniae." Cf. Dix, SOL,226,523,544; 358,377,384; 376.

44. Martin RULE, The Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury, MSAA.

argument. We first note that the famous eighth-century Pontifical of Egbert clearly indicates the presence and use of missals at Canterbury.⁴⁵ These references occur in a discussion of the observance of ember seasons which Egbert correctly understood to have originated at Rome in the days of Pope Calistus and to have been authorized in the time of Gregory the Great.⁴⁶ It is in his mention of the Ember Days of the summer quarter that Egbert specifically notes the use of guide books for the celebration of the Holy Liturgy.⁴⁷ Furthermore, as Rule points out,

It is worthy to remark (1) that in these passages, Egbert speaks, not of Gregory's sacra-

45. Dix, SOL, 576, summarizes England's liturgical development as follows: "Augustine did not take the Pope's large-minded advice to draw on the best in both rites, but introduced at Canterbury the new Gregorian Sacramentary which had just been introduced at Rome. On this we have the testimony both of Archbishop Egbert of York and S. Aldhelm of Wessex. Whatever may be the truth on the much-disputed question as to the survival of any organised remains of Romano-British christianity in Eastern Britain, nothing can be more certain than that the new archbishopric of Canterbury inherited--and intended to inherit--from the old Romano-British church of S. Alban and Bishop Fastidius neither jurisdiction nor succession of orders, neither tradition of doctrine nor anything in its liturgy. Under a succession of archbishops who were all either missionaries from Italy (this includes the Greek S. Theodore) or Saxon disciples trained in their school, the Anglo-Saxon church was 'Roman of the City' in its rite, in its calendar, in the dedications and

mentarium or sacramentorem liber, but of his missale or liber missalis; (2) that more copies than one were in existence at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in his time; and (3) that he seems to imply that, as regards at least one particular--the time for observing the ember fast of the summer quarter--the evidence of which he was cognizant had been contributed by two or more copies of the antiphonary consulted by him at that house.⁴⁸

The second line of evidence falls into place once Rule's critical evaluation and reconstruction of the Canterbury Missal, preserved in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Manuscript 270, is accepted. Although this manuscript is of a late eleventh century composition, it witnesses to the use at Canterbury in the centuries immediately following the Theodoran Age of a liturgical outline almost iden-

fittings of its churches, in its church music and in ecclesiastical details generally." Cf. E. BISHOP, Liturgical History, 42,104ff.; Bede, HE,I,xxix; IV,xviii; II,xx.

46. Dix, SOL,342f,467,471.

47. Migne, PL,LXXXIX,441B.C. "Hoc autem ieiunum idem beatus Gregorius per praefatum legatum in antiphonario suo et missali in plena hebdomada post Pentecostem Anglorum ecclesiae celebrandum destinavit. Quod non solum nostra testantur antiphonaria, sed et ipsa quae cum missalibus suis conspeximus apud apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina."

48. Rule, MSAA,ix,x.

tical with the Roman standard. Its actual contents provide several notable exceptions. These exceptions fall into two categories; first, special 'propers' honouring the various early archbishops of Canterbury up to and including Theodore of Tarsus, and second, special propers which indicate an almost unique western familiarity with certain figures in the Church of the East.⁴⁹ Granting, now, the tenuous nature of the evidence which we have brought forth, let us make clear the purpose for which we submit it. We do not claim that this evidence is in any appreciable degree sufficient to reconstruct the complete liturgy in use during the Theodoran Age at Canterbury; under the circumstances, such a task is at present impossible. We do suggest, however, that it is at least indicative of a standard Canon of the Mass which must have been known to two such scholars as Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian; we also would suggest that this evidence, although not proving the use of such a liturgy by Theodore, does reveal the introduction of distinctly Eastern tendencies--at the very least, the hon-

49. Rule, MSAA,ixf.,xxiif.

ouring of famous personages in the life of Eastern Christianity if not the actual employment of Eastern ceremonial--within the framework of a western liturgy. It would be a most sterile imagination, indeed, which would refuse to see in the liturgical remains embedded in these documents a rough delineation of the commanding figure of Archbishop Theodore as the summus sacerdos of the Canterbury familia.

3. Episcopal Supervision of Other Ministrations.

Administration of Holy Baptism and its completion with Confirmation also seem to have been retained within the hands of the bishop--at least within his own church.⁵⁰ Already, we have suggested that the complex character of the familia, especially as it expanded and began to include entire families of clergy as well as large numbers of unruly youths,⁵¹ gave rise to numerous problems. Among these were certainly infractions of their social and religious code which re-

50. More complete verification of this and the following statement must await our treatment of the Penitential. Cf. Stenton, AES, 147.

51. Cf. the description of Aldhelm, Epistola III, relative to problems of schoolroom discipline.

quited the discipline of the bishop himself in person. Here, presumably, are the beginnings of that penitential discipline to which Archbishop Theodore was eventually to give classical literary form. Evidence is too scanty, however, for us to do more than suggest at this point in our narrative the intimate details of this particular familia. And thus we turn to the central feature of Theodore's Canterbury community in exposition of which we find ourselves upon more certain ground of historical fact.

4. Schola Cantuarii.

Of the immediate staff of teaching personnel in the Theodoran Schola Cantuarii, there can be no serious doubt. The names of four instructors are certain: Archbishop Theodore himself; Abbot Hadrian, his assistant; and for temporary periods, Benedict Biscop, and Eddius Stephanus. Four more able teachers could probably not have been obtained in all Europe aside from the great metropolitan centres of Rome and Constantinople themselves. Of Theodore's own academic background, we have already spoken.⁵² The Abbot Hadrian was possessed of a similar

52. Chapter II

knowledge of both secular and religious literature.⁵³ Indeed, we do well to take the warning of the late M. R. James, that it may be to Hadrian that we owe the greater share in the educational advance in the seventh-century English Church. Without him, Theodore would certainly have found it impossible to make the great achievements which since have been attributed to him.⁵⁴ Benedict Bishop was noted not only for his own piety but for his practical knowledge of the world and the Church as gained by his travels and sojourns at Rome and Lerins, and by his enthusiasm for the monastic discipline and the liturgical arts with which he enhanced the Divine Service of the Church. His importance in the educational advancement at

53. Bede, HE, IV, i. "Hadrianus, vir natione Afir, sacris literis diligenter imbutus, monasterialibus simul et ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutus, Graecae pariter et Latinae linguae peritissimus."

54. James, Art. (1922), 510. "Hadrian was of African extraction and abbot of a monastery near Naples: he had absorbed all that Italy could furnish, and was possessed of Greek as well. Through him, we are linked with the ancients. The Institutions of Cassiodorus are responsible for the existence of a man of such qualifications. Unproductive of written monuments as Italy was at this time, its monks had not, thanks to Cassiodorus, lost all touch with the education of an earlier day. It is to Hadrian that we must attribute the greatest share of achievement in the education work which now began in England." Cf. also Stenton, AES, 131. "Theodore owed the completeness

large is realized when it is recalled that it was Benedict Biscop who carried this learning into Northumbria, and there in his monastery on the mouth of the river Wear established another library modeled on that of the Canterbury School.⁵⁵ The musical learning of Eddius Stephanus is obvious, while his complete reputation stands or falls upon an estimate of the historical worth of his biography of Bishop Wilfrid.⁵⁶

What now was the curriculum of this school for the future clergy of southern England? Canon Bright was so impressed with its quality and that of its sponsors that he did not hesitate to evaluate it in the fol-

of his achievement in England to the constant support of a man at least his equal in learning who was insistent, like himself, on the adoption of Roman usage and the recognition of Roman authority."

55. James, Art. (1922), 511f. Cf. also Bede, VSA, 1, where Pope Gregory's Dialogi, Book II, is quoted. "Fuit vitae venerabilis, gratia Benedictus et nomine, ab apso pueritiae suae tempore cor gerens senile, aetatem quippe moribus transiens, nulli, animum voluptati dedit." VSA, 2. "Dimissa ergo patria Romam adiit, beatorum apostolorum quorum desiderio semper ardere consueverat, etiam loca corporum corporaliter visere atque adorare curavit; ac patriam mox reversus, studiosus ea quae vidit ecclesiasticae vitae instituta, diligere, venerari, et quibus potuit praedicare non desit.... Summa sub festinatione Romam rediit, tempore cuius supra meminimus beatae memoriae Vitaliani papae; et non pauca scientiae salutaris quemadmodum et prius hausta dulcedine, post menses aliquot inde digrediens ad insulam Iyrinensem, ibidem se monachorum coetui

lowing glowing terms.

Such a zeal for ecclesiastical literature as Benedict Biscop had was united in his successor Hadrian, and in Theodore himself, who was popularly called 'the Philosopher,' with a love of learning much wider in its range, and kindred to that spirit which had made the great Alexandrian teachers employ the existing curriculum of secular studies as distinctly capable of serving the cause of Divine truth. Hadrian, with the archbishop's hearty approval, founded at Canterbury a school in which religious training was combined with all other learning accessible at the time.

A great secular historian such as the late J. B. Bury, likewise, did not hesitate to credit Archbishop Theodore with the introduction of the study of Greek,⁵⁸ while Dom Morin enthusiastically believed that Theodore along with Hadrian brought a supply of literature which later, either in its original form or in manuscript copies, found

tradidit, tonsuram accepit, et disciplinam regularem monachi voto insignitus debita cum sollicitudine servavit: ubi per biennium idonea monasticae conversationis doctrina institutus, rursus beati Petri apostolorum principis amore devictus, sacratum eius corpore civitatem repedare statuit." Cf. his later career as recorded in 3,4.

56. Cf. Colgrave's edition of Eddius' Life of Wilfrid. Cf. also Browne, TAW, 90f.

57. Bright, ECH, 246. As his authorities, Bright depended upon Eusebius, EH, VI, 18; Gregory Thaumaturgus, Panegyry. in Originem; and compared these with Augustine, De Doctr. Chr. II, 40; Socrates, HE, III, 16.

58. Bury, LRE, 392. "Into England, a knowledge of Greek

its way into most of the libraries of England.⁵⁹ Others have pointed out that whatever else of a specifically religious nature may have been taught at Canterbury, this introduction of Greek represented a class of studies almost unknown in western Christendom.⁶⁰ Plato and Aristotle, along with many of the Latin classical writers, were already a dead literature to a considerable section of Western Europe.⁶¹

Whatever secular subjects were taught in the Canterbury School were obviously laid upon a sound foundation of Latin and Greek. These courses included instruction in elementary mathematics and astronomy.

was introduced by the great Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hadrian, an African abbot."

59. Morin, *Art.* (1891), 481-493, 529-533. "Si Théodore avait bien apporté avec lui un Homère qu'il lisait sans cesse [Montalembert, *MOW*, IV, 223], on n'aura pas de peine à admettre qu'Adrien de son côté s'était muni des livres liturgiques qu'il estimait devoir être utiles aux églises et communautés monastiques de l'Angleterre. Parmi de bagage littéraire a pu se trouver quelque évangélaire provenant de Naples, dont on aura fait plusieurs copies représentées aujourd'hui encore par L'Evangélaire de saint Cuthbert et le codex Reg. I.B.VII." Morin's resume, however, seems to suggest that he is permitting his imagination to go beyond the facts. "En 668, Adrien, abbé d'un monastère de l'île de Nisita près de Naples, se rend en Angleterre sur l'ordre du Pape Vitalien. Entre autres livres qu'il apporté avec lui, se trouve un évangélaire renfermant une liste de Capitula ou d'indications liturgiques afférentes à l'usage napolitain. Les

Very probably these two fields were thoroughly integrated since such instruction was found necessary in establishing the ecclesiastical calendar.⁶² The "volumes of sacred writings" which were placed in the hands of the Canterbury students undoubtedly refer to the Holy Scriptures together with a limited selection of the Fathers. This tradition was maintained by both Mabillon,⁶³ and Cave,⁶⁴ as well as the more modern scholar, M. R. James. The latter was quite convinced that the famous Graeco-Latin Codex Laudianus of the Acts first found its way to England at the hands of Theodore and Hadrian.⁶⁵ Among these sacred writings was, most certainly, a copy of Gregory's Regulae

copistes anglo-saxons ne tardent pas à en exécuter diverses copies, dont deux au moins existent encore aujourd'hui. L'une des deux est le célèbre évangélaire de saint Cuthbert."

60. Montague FOWLER, Some Notable Archbishops of Canterbury, NAC, 30. "Theodore, ... introduced into this country a class of studies almost unknown in Western Christendom."

61. Weigall, 130f. "Greek literature at a time when few knew Plato, Aristotle, etc."

62. Bede, HE, IV, ii. "Ita ut etiam matericae artis, astronomiae et arithmeticae ecclesiasticae disciplinam inter sacrorum apicem volumina suis auditoribus contraderent." Cf. also Bede's own treatise, De Arte Metrica.

63. Mabillon, ASOB, xlii. "Britannia insula hominibus piis & Christianae disciplinae amantissimis abundavit, paucos litteratos habuit ante Venerabilem Bedam: si forte Theodorum Cantuariæ Episcopum excipas."

Pastoralis, which Bede himself not many years later recommended to Egbert of York.⁶⁶ While study in the Greek and Latin languages unquestionably required some reading among the great authors of classical antiquity, it seems rather likely that a considerable portion of the student's time was occupied with the writings of the Christian Fathers. A third subject of instruction was music--especially in its practical application to the service of the Church as the authorized settings of choir offices and in particular of the Divine Liturgy itself.⁶⁷ In all probability the music mentioned was that of the Gregorian "modes" which had been introduced by the first Roman mission in

64. CAVE, Guilielmo, Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, SEHL, U, 592. "Prima ipsa cura fuit ecclesiae Anglicanae faciem pulchriorem reddere, secunda meliores literas resuscitare; quod & feliciter factum est. Eo enim fine bibliothecam copiosam tam Graecis quam Latinis libris instructam secum in Angliam advenit; quorum nonnulli, inquit antiquitatum Britanniarum autor, seu Parkerus iste, seu Josselinus, Graeco idiomate conscripti apud nos manent, viz. Opera Homeri Graeco caractere ita eximie & exquisite descripta, ut librorum impressorum veritatem superent, volumen grande, charta etiam antiquior, Homiliae Chrysostomi folio pergamenae, Psalmi Davidici, Hymnesticon Josephi eadem lingua; opera sane ob eximiam literarum scripturam nostro saeculo rare, & quae perpetuae memoriae famam obtinere mereantur."

65. James, Art. (1922), 512. "It is thought...that the Graeco-Latin Codex Laudianus has made the journey between Britain and the continent twice. First brought to England by Theodore and Hadrian, and then used by Bede, it travelled to Germany with some members of the Boniface circle...."

597.⁶⁸ Gregorian chanting having been firmly established in the Church at Canterbury, it now became possible for Eddius Stephanus, one of its more able exponents, to be released for service in Northumbria.⁶⁹ A fourth discipline in an already sound curriculum seems to have been some instruction in the rudimentary principles of seventh-century medicine. At least, a later reference by Bede to Archbishop Theodore's opinion on bleeding in combination with the medical tradition preserved in the Penitential would seem to favour the inclusion of this subject in the normal Canterbury curriculum.⁷⁰

Perhaps some of our most direct evidence

66. Bede, Ep. ad Egb., 3.

67. Although our evidence for this is of an indirect nature, it is certainly sound. It is derived from Bede's statement concerning the extending of musical learning into the Northumbrian churches. HE, IV, ii. "Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatemus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt."

68. Cf. Bede, III, xvii, where there is evidence that the former school had been of sufficient repute to serve as a model for the school of Felix of Dunwich.

69. Bede, HE, IV, ii. "Primusque, excepto Iacobo de quo supra diximus, cantandi magister Nordanhymfrorum ecclesiis, Aeddi cognomento Stephanus fuit,...."

70. Cf. Bede, V, iii, where John of Beverley, successively Bishop of Hexham and York, remarks in reference to blood-letting, "Memini enim beatae memoriae Theodorum

as to the nature and quality of work accomplished in the Canterbury School is to be found in the personal testimony of its former pupils. Evidence from at least six distinct persons or groups is available for examination. The first of these is that of John of Beverley to whom reference has just been made. The second body of testimony is that of Aldhelm who later was abbot of Malmesbury and finally Bishop of Sherborne. This noted ecclesiastic was reputed to have accumulated all the learning of the age which was available to him. At least this is a reasonable inference from Bede's estimate of him as "in every way a man of massive learning."⁷¹ From his hand came literary works which were of marked usefulness to the church of his day. Among them were a treatise on the keeping of Easter, Contra Errorem Brettonum, and a book entitled, De Laudibus Virginitatis. Concerning the

archiepiscopum dicere, quia periculosa sit satis illius temporis phlebotomia, quando et lumen lunae, et rheuma oceani in cremento est." Cf. Chapter II; pp.41ff. and Penitential, II,x1,5; Cf. also Bede's De Minutione Sanguinis. The tradition that John received instruction in theology from Theodore in person is preserved in Brompton, X Scriptores, 794.

71. Bede, HE,V,xviii.

first of these, Bede remarked that Aldhelm was able to use his refutation of the errors of the Britons in such a practical way that he succeeded in turning many of them to the correct keeping of the Church Year.⁷² Aldhelm had learned well from his great master the importance of the Catholic Easter. As for the second of these works, although inspired by a composition of similar title by the Irish monk, Sedulius, it was rated as a model of hexameter verse and prose.⁷³ But Bede's enthusiasm does not stop here. He goes on to say that,

He wrote some other works, too, being a man of massive learning in every way, for he had a very eloquent literary style while his knowledge both in liberal literature and in divinity was most admirable.⁷⁴

72. Bede, HE,V,xviii. "Scripsit, iubente aynodo suae gentis, librum egregium adversus errorem Brettonum quo vel pascha non suo tempore celebrant, vel alia perplura ecclesiasticae castitati et paci contraria gerunt, multos que eorum qui Occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Brettones, ad catholicam Dominici paschae celebrationem huius lectione perduxit."

73. Bede, HE,V,xviii. "Scripsit et de virginitate librum eximium, quem in exemplum Sedulii geminato opere, et versibus hexametris, et prosa composuit." Malmesbury's comment, G. Reg. I,3, is also worthy of note. "Nihil dulcius, nihil splendidius." In all fairness, it should be noted that we are here concerned with observing the reputation which Aldhelm enjoyed in the opinion of his contemporaries. A modern estimate of his literary calibre would be less appreciative.

Aldhelm's own letter to Bishop Heddi is an excellent example of his learning in the field of astronomical and arithmetical calculation for the calendar as was his separate work, De Septenario, et De Metris.⁷⁵ His early biographer, Fabricius, furthermore did not hesitate to claim that he could both speak and write Greek.⁷⁶ He himself claimed that he had been personally instructed by Archbishop Theodore.⁷⁷ In short, Aldhelm's undisputed learning together with his unrivalled celebrity and widespread influence constitute direct evidence as to the nature and quality of the learning which Archbishop Theodore and the Abbot Hadrian had offered at Canterbury.

74. Bede, HE,V,xviii. "Scripsit et alia nonnulla, utpote vir undecumque doctissimus: Nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum, ut dixi, tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum, erat eruditione mirandus." Cf. Bright, ECH,269.

75. Migne, PL, IXC. Aldhelm, Epistola IV; De Septenario et De Matris.

76. Fabricius, Vita Aldhelmi, c.1; Migne, PL, IXC. Cf. Bright, ECH,267,fn.6, in criticism of Aldhelm's style and taste which were often characterized by quotations from the Latin poets. "His reading," in fact, exceeded his literary discretion and good taste. We must not wonder at his believing that St. Clement of Rome wrote the Itinerarium Petri, that Pope Sylvester bound a pestilent serpent, or that Constantine was healed of leprosy by being baptized." Cf. De Laud. Virg., c.25.

77. Epistola III, Migne, PL, IXC.

But even more detailed information as to the calibre of this learning is now available to us.

The late M. R. James, who claimed that the teaching of Theodore and Hadrian was based, more directly than the Irish, upon the surviving classical tradition of Italy, and [that] their scholarship was of a purer type," has provided the world of historical scholarship with several pieces of information which permit us to trace with even more confidence the literary heritage which was passed on to Aldhelm.⁷⁸ Not only did this modern scholar feel certain that the large number of Latin writings, a hundred riddles in Latin verse, and Aldhelm's own long poem on virginity--all of which survive to the present day--are proof positive of the wide reaches of the classical learning which was available at Canterbury, but examining the various royal inventories of the libraries of Canterbury and particularly of Malmesbury, Professor James found five distinct strands of evidence pointing to the wide selection of classical works which was apparently offered to the students at the Canterbury School.

78. M. R. JAMES, Two Ancient English Scholars: St. Aldhelm and William of Malmesbury, TAES, 10.

The first of these works was the epistolary treatise, Junilius: Ad Primasium Papam. The existence of this short, sixth-century treatise on the Scriptures which was dedicated to a man who never really became Pope was witnessed by John Leland, agent of King Henry VIII. The importance of the mistaken dedication is seen when it is discovered that Aldhelm himself quoted Junilius and referred to the dedication of the work to the Pope.

Junilius, dedicating his Institutes (so his book is called), which he had learned from Paul the Persian, a man well instructed in the school of the Syrians, to Primasius the bishop of the apostolic see.⁷⁹

Quite obviously the copy of the Institutes which Aldhelm possessed carried the mistaken dedication!

The second line of evidence to which James leads us is a description of the Canterbury studies as found in a letter to Leutherius, Bishop of Winchester. The writer pleads that his studies keep him at Canterbury and preclude his visit to Malmesbury for the Christmas holidays. Among these studies, he mentions Latin meters, computation of the calendar, astronomy, and Roman Law.

79. Aldhelm, Epistola III, Migne, PL, IXC. Cf. James, TAES, 13.

The studies [he writes] take a long time, especially for him who, kindled with the desire for learning, investigates to the marrow the ordinances of the Roman Law and scrutinizes to the very heart all the secrets of the jurisconsults.⁸⁰

Professor James ventured to claim that this reference to Roman Law as a subject of serious study was "unique for England not only in the seventh but in many following centuries."⁸¹ To answer the question as to what lawbook was possessed, we have only to turn to William of Malmesbury who by transcribing with his own hand has preserved for us a book of Roman Law which still may be viewed in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.⁸² This book is likewise unique at that time for England. It is a compilation, earlier than the more famous code of Justinian, made by King Alaric II of Spain about 506. It is today generally known as the Breviary of Alaric, together with the Novellae or Laws of the later emperors from Theodosius to Anthenius, along with certain fragments from such legal writers as Paulus and Gaius.

80. Aldhelm, Ep. ad Leutherium, Migne, PL.

81. James, TAES, 14.

82. Malmesbury, MS. Bodleian, Selden, B.16.

A third discovery, which is open to verification, is that not only William of Malmesbury but Aldhelm spoke of and quoted Cicero's Invectives. These so-called Invectives are identifiable as the familiar orations against Catiline, which were often made use of by William of Malmesbury.⁸³ Having made this discovery, James then counted quotations "from some forty Latin authors (as the tragedies of Seneca), pagan and Christian, [which were] made in such a manner as to imply acquaintance with their writings."⁸⁴ Here then is a fourth strand of evidence.

A fifth, although somewhat more indirect item of evidence, is a book written in the fifteenth century which, also, may be viewed at Oxford. This book, which was described by the late Bishop Stubbs as a gift from Bishop Gray to Balliol, contains works by two Latin writers, Lactantius, and the Apology of Tertullian.⁸⁵ Certain prefatory matter, James found to be written "in

83. James, TAES, 14.

84. James, TAES, 15.

85. This document may be viewed in the library of Balliol College, Oxford, where it is catalogued as Manuscript 79.

exactly William's manner." He confidently connected it with William and Aldhelm "because, both writers being very rare in England, Aldhelm quotes Lactantius, and William quotes Tertullian's Apology, and lastly, Leland saw a copy of Tertullian at Malmesbury."⁸⁶

Each of these five strands of evidence is of a somewhat indirect nature. Yet, taken as a whole they constitute a most convincing verification of Aldhelm's undoubted scholarship and an unanswerable justification for the reputation which the Venerable Bede took such care to record. For our own immediate purposes, they constitute a body of strong evidence which we cannot afford to overlook. Possessed with such an authentication of the Venerable Bede's faithfulness, have we any reason to doubt the testimony of the witnesses whom Bede describes as either students or associates of Archbishop Theodore?

The third personal witness to offer such testimony to the Canterbury School is Ostor, Bishop of Worcester. This man's preliminary training had been obtained in the two monasteries presided over by the Abb-

86. James, TAES, 20.

ess Hilda. Desiring additional training, he continued his studies under Archbishop Theodore at Canterbury. There the love of learning was so nurtured that he determined to seek even further post-graduate education at Rome itself.⁸⁷ That Ofter later became a bishop in the Church detracts not the least from his reputation for scholarship; rather does it simply indicate that a premium had by that time been placed upon learned men whose qualities of leadership were considered to have been greatly increased by a thorough and broad education.

A fourth noted pupil of the Canterbury School was Tobias, Bishop of Rochester. Tobias, like Bishop Ofter, had very obviously been chosen a bishop because of his sound learning and training in leadership which he had obtained from his earlier association with Archbishop Theodore and the Abbot Hadrian.

Tobias was a scholar of two teachers of happy memory, Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian, from whom, as it has been said, besides his knowledge of both ecclesiastical and secular literature, he so thoroughly learned Greek as

87. Bede, HE, IV, xxiii. "De medio nunc dicamus, quia cum in utroque Hildae abbatissae monasterio lectioni et observationi Scripturarum operam dedisset, tandem perfectiora desiderans, venit Cantiam ad archiepiscopum beatae recordationis Theodorum: ubi postquam aliquandiu lectionibus sacris vacavit, etiam Romam adire curavit, quod eo tempore magnae virtutis aestimabatur."

well as Latin that he retained a command of them as perfectly and familiarly as of his native speech.⁸⁸

A fifth, and very important, witness to the educational work of Theodore at Canterbury was Albinus, who eventually succeeded the Abbot Hadrian. Albinus was reputed to have had a fair knowledge of Greek and a thorough knowledge of Latin, both of which he had exercised in the study of the Holy Scriptures.⁸⁹ Bede's own personal testimony to Albinus is to be found in the preface of his Ecclesiastical History. There he pays tribute to the great scholar who had provided him with the documentary sources of the period and thus made possible his own historical masterpiece.⁹⁰

88. Bede, V,xxii. "Tobias...doctissimus. Erat enim discipulus beatae memoriae magistrorum, Theodori archiepiscopi et abbatis Hadriani: unde, ut dictum est, cum eruditione literarum vel ecclesiasticarum vel generalium ita Graecam quoque cum Latina didicit linguam, ut tam notas ac familiares sibi eas, quam nativitatis suae loquelam haberet."

89. Bede, HE,V,xx. "Cuis doctrinae simul et Theodori interalia testimonium perhibet, quod Albinus discipulus eius qui monasterio ipsius in regimine successit, in tantum studiis scripturarum institutus est, ut Graecam quidem linguam non parva ex parte, Latinam vero non minus quam Anglorum, quae sibi naturalis est, noverit."

90. Bede, HE, Praef. "auctor ante omnes atque adiutor opusculi huius Albinus abba reverentissimus vir per omnia doctissimus extitit; qui in ecclesia Cantuariorum a beatae memoriae Theodoro archiepiscopo et Hadriano abbate

A sixth testimony is of a more general sort and is to be derived from a generalisation by Bede that there were still some scholars living (at the time he himself wrote) who directly owed their enviable knowledge of Greek and Latin to the two great teachers of Canterbury.⁹¹ Among these were surely Theodore's two successors at Canterbury, Tatwine,⁹² and Nothelm.⁹³

A possible seventh witness to the Canterbury School is the much-maligned Eddius Stephanus whose work, however, is a more accurate indication of his personal estimate of Bishop Wilfrid than it is of the quality of work done by Theodore and his associates. It is

viris venerabilibus atque eruditissimus institutus, diligenter omnia quae in ipsa Cantuariorum provincia vel etiam in contiguis eidem regionibus a discipulis beati papae Gregorii gesta fuere, vel monumentis literarum vel seniorum traditione cognoverat: et ea mihi de his quae memoria digna presbyterum Nothelmum, sive literis mandata sive ipsius Nothelmi viva voce referenda, transmisit." Bede goes on to mention the letters which Nothelm brought from Rome. At Albinus' advice, Bede incorporated the information gained from these in his larger history. "*Exinde autem usque ad tempora praesentia, quae in ecclesia Cantuariorum per discipulos beati papae Gregorii sive successores eorum, vel sub quibus regibus gesta sint, memorati abbatis Albini industria Nothelmo, ut diximus, perferente cognovimus.*"

91. Bede, HE, IV, 11. "Indicio est quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Graecamque linguam aequae ut propriam in qua nati sunt, norunt."

92. Bede, HE, V, xxiii.

notable, however, that Eddius' presence on the Canterbury faculty was specifically due to his musical knowledge; his Life of Bishop Wilfrid is his only claim, and that a rather damaging one, to repute as an historical scholar.

In summary, we may picture the already aging but energetic Archbishop Theodore laying firm foundations for the advancement of the Christian Church in England. Expansion was first conceived in terms of an efficient episcopal familia rather than in the establishment and defining of provincial, diocesan, and parochial boundaries. At the centre of such a familia was a school of promising young clergy whose later accomplishments along with those of Theodore himself were to assure the school an enduring fame and a pride in the traditions of its founders which their successors thirteen hundred years later are ever ready to assert.⁹⁴ Over this familia presided the most learned master of England with his perhaps equally able associate, exercising a rigid but sound dis-

93. Cf. Bede, HE, Praef., where Albinus is mentioned as having preserved certain of the documentary sources which Albinus was enabled to make available to Bede. Cf. previous fn. 90.

94. Cathedral Age, Autumn 1947. Article, F. J. Shirley, "English Cathedral Schools."

cipline, and as a genuine Father-in-God finding both his own spiritual nourishment and the inspiration of his students in the daily offering of praise and thanksgiving at the altar of his cathedral church.⁹⁵

95. Cf. fn. 23.

CHAPTER FOUR
ARCHIEPISCOPALIS PROVINCIALIS

1. The Archiepiscopal Visitation.

Whatever characteristics and achievements contributed to the reputation of Theodore of Tarsus, the new archbishop's unquestionable genius for organization and provincial administration stands out as the chief reason for his fame as one of the greatest men ever to occupy the See of Canterbury. Only a limited number of prospective clergy could have the privilege of membership in the training school at Canterbury and only a small percentage of the lay membership of the Church could feel the immediate impact of the arrival in Britain of a great scholar, but he would be a rare member of the later seventh-century Church in England who could be oblivious to the strong hand of leadership which presently began to give unmistakable guidance to the scattered and unorganized communities of the faithful who until now had known only sporadic attempts at organization and religious discipline. Many undoubtedly had rather unclear conceptions as to just what constituted the essentials of Christian faith and practice; under the instruction of their new teacher and his assistants, this situation would be remedied. Until

now, few even of the clergy had known anything but the episcopus vagans of the Celtic Church or as was even more likely the monastic bishop who in the pursuit of a life of sequestered holiness seldom, if ever, left the confines of a religious community in which he himself remained obedient to the abbot.¹ Whatever attempts had been made by Saint Augustine to remedy this unique application of the historic episcopate, little had been achieved by way of permanent results.² From the arrival of Archbishop Theodore, this also would be changed forever. Again, the Christian churches of Britain had never really known the meaning of an integrated organization of bishops and lower clergy; the common denominator of ecclesiastical organization had been the great communities of Iona and Lindisfarne and the numerous scattered houses which depended upon these two early fountainheads of religious culture. Now, whatever might be the ambiguities of the new archbishop's territorial jurisdiction, there would be no question as to who held the primacy in the English Church.³ and

1. Cf. Meissner, CCE, and Duke, CC.

2. Cf. Chapter I, pp.15,22ff.

3. Cf. Bede, HE,IV,xvii, "gratia Dei Archiepiscopus Brittaniae insulae;" Haddan and Stubbs, CED,III,140,

indeed, as we shall presently observe, there seems to have been no question in Archbishop Theodore's own mind but that appointment by the Holy Apostolic See carried with it full primatial authority over the entire island of Britain including the power of ordination and deposition of clergy, organization of local areas of religious responsibility, and the extension of the Church Faith and Order to those sections of the island which hitherto had been unreached by the previous Roman mission. Discovery of the extent to which Archbishop Theodore exercised this commission is a major problem of this chapter.

In the preceding chapter, we noted that Theodore, in company with Abbot Hadrian, had made an initial tour of the communities within his immediate jurisdiction.⁴ We observed that this visitation was characterized by three features: a brief exposition of the Christian moral life, an archiepiscopal charge to keep the discipline of the Church, and the recruitment of promising candidates for the ministry. The first two

153, the papal letter of 680, "*magnae insulae Britanniae*," and the spurious document which extends Theodore's jurisdiction "*per universam Britanniā*."

4. Chapter III, pp. 121-124, 132.

items are perhaps the only ones which allow us to compare Theodore's tour with the "metropolitical visitations" so common in England after the Norman Conquest.⁵ In all other respects, Theodore's visit (and those which followed), although undertaken within a framework of missionary evangelism, was marked by some radical innovations. But the situation which confronted Theodore was discouraging to say the least. Upon that initial survey he had discovered that Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia, and Rochester were without adequate episcopal care, while only three bishops remained in charge of recognizable sees. London had been purchased by the simoniacal Wini, recently ejected from Winchester,⁶ while the important see of York had become a bone of bitter contention between Bishops Wilfrid and Chad.

Whether Theodore sought to correct these

5. Irene Josephine CHURCHILL, Canterbury Administrations: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishops of Canterbury Illustrated from Original Records (2 vols.), CA, I, 288 points out that although "the right of metropolitical visitation was well established in England in the course of the 13th century and rested on the sanctions of canon law...., In England the earliest form of visitation was of a missionary kind and archbishop Theodore's tour through the country was the nearest approximation to a metropolitical visitation to be found in pre-Conquest England where the system was practically undeveloped."

6. Cf. Stenton, AES, 132.

conditions on his very first tour of inspection is uncertain. The records only emphasize the fact that he quickly gave his attention to the dispute over the see of York. As he visited the Northumbrian capitol, nothing escaped his keen eye and he immediately perceived a way to deal with the quarrel.⁷ Bishop Chad had been defectively consecrated and therefore was no bishop at all! Whatever the reason which prompted the questioning of Chad's orders, the mere fact that Archbishop Theodore proceeded to remove him was enough to establish his reputation for all time as the archbishop who introduced order into the English Church.⁸ Celtic bishops may have been deposed from their positions in time past (probably at the order of their ruling abbot, they were restricted

7. Bede, HE, IV, 11; Bright, EEC, 235.

8. That the removal, reordination, and fresh appointment of Chad was regarded as an outstanding innovation is supported by nearly all the encyclopaedic references to Theodore's archiepiscopal career, where this incident is singled out for special mention. The medieval account furnished by Halesbury, *Ges. Pont. Ang.*, provides a typical example of this. "Eum ab sede apostolica missum Beda commemorat, primum omnium antistitum Cantuariæ vigorem pontificalem in tota Britannia exercuisse. Denique et citra et ultra Humbram episcopos hos pro placito abegisse, hos posuisse. In ipsa Eboraco aliarum urbium praesules consecrasse, et, ut in Vita beati Wilfridi legitur ejusdem civitatis pontifices, Cedda, et ipsum Wilfridum seu ratione seu vi expulisse, etc." Cf. also Hook, LOA, 153f.

by enclosure within their own monasteries.), but never in the recorded history of British Christianity had such a removal of a bishop been undertaken upon the sole ground of archiepiscopal authority. Chad was removed from his see and Bishop Wilfrid, who had originally been ejected due to his interference in the family life of the king, was reinstated. The Church in Britain now had an archbishop in fact as well as in name.

But the story of Bishop Chad's removal is not only deeply moving in itself; it is also replete with certain theological implications. For three years, Bede observed, Chad had ruled the Church of York in a most sublime manner. When questioned by Archbishop Theodore, he willingly stepped down from his position. Now, although the deposition of Chad may be defended in the interests of Wilfrid's restoration, removal "because he had not been consecrated correctly" requires some explanation.⁹ Perhaps the defect in the consecration was questionable

9. Bede, HE, IV, ii. Actually, two questions are involved here: (1) possession of a disputed see, and (2) valid ordination. Question (2) may be related to question (1); it may even be dependent upon (1); but such an admission must not cloak the necessary distinction between possession of a see (Legal possession of a see could at that date be effected by canonical translation.) and consecration to a see.

title to the see of York for the Frankish consecrators of Wilfrid had already designated their ordinand for this position. According to ancient Church custom, a new bishop could not be consecrated canonically for a see to which a duly-elected bishop had already been consecrated. It has also been suggested that the defect lay in the fact that two of the consecrators of Chad were bishops of the native British Church and thus protagonists of the now outlawed Celtic Easter. Yet, the third consecrator was Wini, Bishop of Winchester (later of London). Certainly, his participation in the consecration would seem to have carried with it the necessary validity even if he had already been found guilty of simoniacal practices. This would not necessarily have made Chad's consecration null and void. Perhaps the best we can do is to conclude that the fact that the doctrinal position of two bishops was unorthodox (from the Roman point of view) and the third was presently to deny his faith in terms of a most grievous ecclesiastical sin, added to the additional fact that Chad could have no rightful claim to York while its previous occupant still lived, made the intention of the consecration inherently defective. And yet even this reconstruction does not answer all the questions.¹⁰ At most it

simply throws the entire proceedings under a cloud of suspicion.

The present writer would be bold to suggest, therefore, that whatever the circumstances immediately surrounding Chad's consecration may have been, they could have produced only an "irregular" consecration. Either or both of two other explanations will fit the case better. In the first place, it should be noted that Chad's consecration had not taken place either by direct or indirect authority of the Apostolic See. From the standpoint of the Roman Church, an episcopal consecration, to possess an unquestionable legality would have to be effected at the hands of either the Bishop of Rome himself or his apostolic delegate, i.e., an archbishop with pallium or a bishop specifically appointed to act on his behalf. Only then would official communion and episcopal status with the See of Saint Peter be preserved intact; and that, at least, we submit, is really what was at stake in this particular instance. As such Archbishop Theodore's action represented a daring and perhaps the initial assertion of what was to become a standard policy

10. Cf. Bright, EEC, 235-237.

of the Roman Church in later centuries.¹¹ Yet this action should not be regarded as merely anomalous; Archbishop Theodore, acting against the background of his early life in the Byzantine Church, also was following a principle which became standard practice in the major Eastern Churches, whereby a consecration, to possess validity, in the sense of recognized legality, must be performed with the consent of the provincial ordinary, or at least as a corporate act of an entire province.¹² From the standpoint of the Roman See, Theodore's action in later making Chad bishop of Lichfield granted Chad official episcopal and communion status with the Bishop of

11. Fright, EEC, 237, fn3, observes that Bingham, IV, vii, 7, 8, showed that there was no uniform rule in the ancient church on the question of reordination. In other words, the problem was still in a fluid state. Yet, this is to ignore the principle by which Theodore acted. That an important principle was at stake is the contention of the present writer.

12. This principle was first enunciated by Cyprian, Epistola lxvii, sec. 5. That there have been numerous exceptions to this rule, no historian would deny, but the principle remains that a bishop should be consecrated only as the act of the whole Church, i.e. of a province--bishops, clergy, and people being in substantial agreement. That this principle still maintains in the Churches of the East was shown recently in a statement from Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira relative to the participation of an Orthodox bishop in the consecration of The Right Reverend Kenneth C. H. Warner to the Diocese of Edinburgh, Episco-

Rome; from the standpoint of the Churches of the East and Archbishop Theodore in particular, Chad was being fully ordained for the first time, since none of Chad's earlier consecrators (by any stretch of the imagination) could be said to have acted on behalf of an officially recognized province of the Church Catholic. Assuming that the matter and form of Chad's original consecration had been regular, theoretically his position could have been established by a declaration of assent and submission to the Apostolic See; practically, on the basis of Orthodox Eastern theology, full reordination was required.

That it was not long before Theodore gave public expression to his personal respect for Chad is an

pal Church in Scotland. No question of Bishop Warner's status is involved. Rather is it a question of participation by an orthodox bishop in this consecration. The complete participation (including imposition of hands and signing of the deed of consecration) by Matthew Mateutz, of Wilna, Poland, was officially uninvited, unexpected, unauthorized (by his own ecclesiastical superiors). The consecration was performed by bishops acting with the full authority of three national provinces of the Church Catholic: Episcopal Church in Scotland, Old Catholic Church (Netherlands), and the Church of England. Inasmuch as one of its own bishops had participated, the Church of England Committee on Foreign Relations did not hesitate to ask Archbishop Germanos who was in England at the time for an opinion as to the status of Bishop Matthew as a consecrator. The response was to the effect that the Orthodox bishop, under the circumstances, was not a consecrator; an Orthodox bishop may only function within the recognized framework and by authority of his own province of the Church.

indication of Theodore's own genius as a judge of men and of that adaptability which the Church has often shown when confronted with anomalous situations. Chad was a man of genuine humility as well as apparent native ability and presently, in response to a request of the Mercians for episcopal ministration, he was called from his temporary retirement in the monastery at Ilastingham.¹³

King Oswy officially appointed him to the new see of Lichfield and whatever the defects of Chad's previous orders, they were supplied by his being fully ordained to all the ecclesiastical grades.¹⁴ This "reordination" represents the most famous and probably the first concrete instance of Theodore's dealing with the problem of sacramental indelibility. That it was a recurring problem, and one not easily settled, is evidenced by the substantial treatment given to the questions of re-baptism

13 . The sequence of events is unclear. Following Bright, *EEC*, 236, fn. 3, we suggest that the order was (1) removal of Chad from York, (2) restoration of Wilfrid, (3) retirement of Chad to Ilastingham, (4) appointment of Chad to Lichfield, (5) fresh consecration of Chad. Cf. also Fast. Ebor. i. 51; Richard of Hexham in X Script. 293.

14. Bede, *HE*, IV, 11, "Sed epse ordinatione eius denuo catholica ratione consummavit." Eddius, *VW*, 15, is more specific and states that the bishops fully ordained Chad through all the ecclesiastical grades.

and re-ordination in the Penitential.¹⁵

Having settled for the time being the troubles of Bishop Wilfrid and by a magnanimous exercise of a principle of economy availed the Church of the talents of the devout and humble Chad, Archbishop Theodore gave his attention to those sees which were still without episcopal supervision. Putta was consecrated for Rochester,¹⁶ while Lothere, nephew of Bishop Agilbert of Paris, was accepted by an ad hoc synod in West Saxony and consecrated to the see of Winchester.¹⁷ On the 2nd of March, 672, Bishop Chad died and was replaced by Winfrid, who for some time had served as deacon to his humble predecessor.¹⁸ Before the assembling of the Synod of Hertford, perhaps as early as 669, Bisi had been consecrated to the see of Dunwich in East Anglia.¹⁹ To date, Theodore had restored one bishop to his see, consecrated five candidates to the episcopate, and allowing for the death of

15. Pen.I,v.6; ix.12,12a; x,1,2; II,11,12,13; iii,1-6; iv,5.

16. Bede, HE,IV,11

17. Bede, HE,III,vii,xxiv. The "synod" was more precisely a "gemot."

18. Bede, HE,IV,iii.

19. Bede, HE,IV,v.

Chad but including the simonious Wini, now presided over an episcopal college of six bishops.²⁰

2. Diocesan Organization of the Province.

During his first three years in Britain, Archbishop Theodore had discovered the supreme importance of the manpower problem. Second only in importance to this was the related question as to where and how bishops should be placed once suitable candidates could be found. Already, we have noted, Theodore had made seven episcopal sees clearly identifiable. These included Canterbury, Rochester, London, Winchester, Dunwich, Lichfield, and York.²¹ Yet, how many of the older English sees should be revived or perpetuated; which of them should be allowed to die out; how should he go about the more adventuresome task of extending the boundaries of Christian supremacy?²² Traditionally, this aspect of Theodore's organization was treated in terms of the foun-

20. Wilfrid of York, Wini of London, Putta of Rochester, Lothere of Winchester, Bisi of Dunwich, and Winfrid of Lichfield.

21. Cf. Hill, *MD*, 85-155.

22. Cf. Browne, *AEE*, I, 147f; Deanesly, *Art.* (1943), "Roman Traditionalist Influence Among the Anglo-Saxons." English Historical Review, April (1943), 129-146; Stubbs, *CHE*, I, 237-239.

dation of the English parochial system. However, leading scholars toward the end of the nineteenth century clearly demonstrated that "parochial" was a misnomer and from a chronological standpoint anticipated by several centuries the actual foundation of the parish system.²³ Actually, Archbishop Theodore's achievement was the adaptation to the contemporary British social structure of the continental, fixed diocesan see around which a bishop could exercise a recognized ministry of episcopal jurisdiction. Collateral with this problem was not only the task of recruiting acceptable candidates for the episcopate but the important matter of civil assent and economic support.²⁴ Thus, having settled the Northumbrian dispute and provided four vacant sees with new bishops, the archbishop's next step was to give some attention to the

23. Bright, *HEC*, 256, fn. 2; Cf. also Haddan and Stubbs, *CED*, III, 122, where it is suggested that this mistaken identification of the parochial system was the work of Elmham, ed. Hardwick, 285f. Theodore "*excitabat fidelium devotionem et voluntatem in quarumlibet provinciarum civitatibus necnon villis ecclesias fabricandi, parochias distinguendi, assensus eisdem regio procurando, ut qui sufficientes essent, et ad Dei honorem pro voto haberent super propriam fundum ecclesias construere, earundem perpetuo patronatu gauderent. Si autem infra limites alicujus alterius domini ecclesias facerent, ejusdem fundi notarentur domini pro patronis.*"

24. It was this aspect of the situation that Elmham understood correctly. See fn. 23.

problem of Church extension. And yet, it would not only be a matter of some months but perhaps of years before it would be possible for him to see his programme to a successful conclusion. Civil rulers first had to be so thoroughly converted to their responsibilities as Christians that tribal support for a bishop could not only be initiated but would be inaugurated with some assurance of maintenance.

A collateral problem was likewise the position of monasteries and the status of the monks themselves.²⁵ Should they, for instance, consistently remain cloistered within their respective minsters or were there ways in which this potential supply of manpower could be used for the furtherance of the Christian cause? Clearly, the time was coming for a distinction between those clergy who could be called upon for active work of evangelism and missions of instruction and those religious who would remain enclosed. Very naturally, this would raise the question of territorial jurisdiction and episcopal authority over the movements of such clergy.²⁶

25. Cf. the monastic charters in Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 123-172; position of monks as determined by Hartford Canons, 2, 4; Penitential, II, iii, v, vi.

26. Deanesly, HMC, 49, notes that "The foundation of ru-

Furthermore, in view of the divergent traditions which were already existent within a theoretically united Church, it would first be necessary for the archbishop to carry the understanding and support of his immediate clergy and brother bishops if his plans of expansion and reorganization were to be successful. With these ideas in mind, Archbishop Theodore determined to assemble his entire episcopate along with certain outstanding presbyters as theological assessors to their bishops.

3. The First Provincial Synod: Hertford, A.D. 672.

Accordingly, on the 24th day of September in the year 672, there assembled the first provincial synod of English clergy, and indeed, probably the first truly deliberative assembly of the English people.²⁷ In calling this synod, Theodore followed a precedent which was as old as the Council of Nicaea. The proper organi-

ral presbyteral parishes, once attributed to archbishop Theodore, was of later date. It is, however, possible that some of the bodies spoken of by Bede, and mentioned in later charters as 'monasteries' may have originated as little bands of clerks, living a communal life, like presbyteral familiae in France in the sixth century. The element 'minister,' (monasterium) in place names where no Benedictine monastery is known to have existed, supports this view."

27. Stubbs, CHE, I, 251f; Bright, EEC, 248-258; Stenton, AES, 133.

zation of an ecclesiastical province must be inaugurated by means of a properly constituted episcopal synod.²⁸

Nineteenth-century students have usually dated this synod as having occurred a year later than 672.²⁹ However, as we indicated earlier, we have chosen to follow the brilliant chronological reconstruction of this period proposed by the late Professor Reginald L. Poole.³⁰ In so doing, we reject the chronology which was regarded as acceptable by Plummer, Bright, and Stubbs a half-century ago. A brief explanation of the date in question may be of value. In our earlier attempt to fix a date for the birth of Theodore, we discovered that a consistent chronology is dependent upon establishing the type of Indiction in use by the Venerable Bede. The Indiction was the one stable element in the dating of any

28. Bright, EEC, 249.

29. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 118-122; Cf. also Plummer, VBHE, Bright, EEC, Howarth, GAEC, III, etc. in situ. Poole, SCH, 40, however, observes that his chronology results in "fixing a good many events a year earlier than they are placed by modern historians, though not always by their predecessors in the seventeenth century."

30. Guided by my former teacher, Professor LaPiana of the American Academy of Medieval Studies at Harvard University, I have long since come to the conclusion that Poole's chronological reconstruction is by far the more consistent. Cf. our earlier use of this chronology in Chapter II, pp. 44-46.

document for this period, while the more familiar Annus Domini was a recent ecclesiastical importation only intended as a tool for relating the year of Indiction with the Easter Tables. Concerning the date of the Council of Hertford, Plummer was willing to accept Bede's statement that it assembled on September 24, 673, in the third year of Egfrid.³¹ Yet, if Egfrid's accession was in February of 670, this would more naturally be regarded as the fourth regnal year. Now frequent references to the regnal years are to be found in Bede, but it should be noted that they are only accompanied by the year of grace.³² In the one exception, he notes that the Council began in the first Indiction; this started in September 672. Plummer seemed satisfied to observe that "if Theodore (like Bede himself) used the Caesarean Indiction, this day, September 24, 673, was the very first day of the first Indiction."³³ Yet, as Poole emphatically pointed out,

It was not: 24 September, 673, whether the Indiction be Greek or Caesarian was in the sec-

31. Bede, HE,V,xxiv.

32. Bede, HE,IV,v; V,xxiv.

33. Plummer, VBHE, in situ.

ond Indiction. Since then Bede reckons 24 September in the first Indiction and as falling within the year 673, it follows that he began his year with the Indiction.³⁴

Upon the basis of this evidence, we submit that the Council of Hertford convened in September 672. This date, without any difficulty, corresponds with Egfrid's third year. Acceptance of the year 672 is likewise an implicit recognition of the promptness with which Archbishop Theodore acted after surveying his jurisdiction and appraising the problems with which he was faced. Scarcely three and a half years had passed when Theodore undertook to complete the formal organization of his province by the calling of this synod.

In composition, the Council of Hertford intended to include the entire episcopate plus a considerable number of the teachers of the Church.³⁵ Specifically mentioned as in attendance were Archbishop Theodore who presided by reason of his apostolic appointment;³⁶

34. Poole, SCH, 40f. also notes that the correct date was pointed out by Mr. Alfred Anscombe, in the Athenaeum, no. 3804, p. 380 (22 September 1908). These results were once accepted by Sir James Ramsay; *ibid.*, no. 3810, p. 579 (3 November 1900). "I have noticed that the true date of the Council of Hertford was given by Bruno Krusch in the Neues Archiv, IX, 160, so long ago as 1884." Stenton, AES, 133, follows Poole in accepting the year 692 as the correct date.

35. Bede, HE, IV, v.

36. "Ab apostolica sede destinatus...Episcopus."

Bishops Bisi of East Anglia, Wilfrid of York (by proxies), Putta of Rochester, Lothere of West Saxony, and Winfrid of Mercia; and Titulus, probably a clerk in minor orders who acted as secretary or chaplain to the archbishop. Bishop Wini of London was notable for his absence.³⁷ This list of the clergy who were present is interesting in several respects: first, the synod intentionally included both bishops and presbyters (perhaps even deacons and clerks in minor orders);³⁸ secondly, the precedent was established in Britain which permitted a bishop unable (or unwilling) to attend in person, to attend by proxy;³⁹ thirdly, all bishops present in person were Theodoran appointments; and fourthly, Theodore presided as "archbishop by appointment of the apostolic see."

Of more immediate importance was the actual business transacted. This may be divided into two main

37. Stenton, AES, 123 f; Bright, EEC, 250, fn. 8, suggests that he may have resigned in penitence. Yet Bede, HE, III, vii, states that he remained bishop of London up to the end of his life.

38. Bright, EEC, 250, however, is insistent that only the bishops actually deliberated.

39. Note that proxies had been acceptable as early as the council of Arles. Bright, EEC, 250.

parts. First, Theodore as archbishop delivered a fervent charge in which he set forth the agenda of the meeting: mutual counsel on the essentials of the Faith, the relation between the Faith and the preservation of the charity and unity of the Church. This plea was agreed to by each of Theodore's fellow-bishops, whereupon, in order to produce a series of tangible resolutions for the record and for the guidance of each member, the archbishop produced a book of canons from which he chose ten as of immediate pertinence for the life and work of the Church in Britain.

The identification of this book of canons has always constituted an interesting problem for the historians. From the nature of the ten articles eventually ratified by the synod, it is almost certain that Archbishop Theodore was in possession of that collection of ancient canon law which in the previous century had been placed in circulation under the name of Dionysius Exiguus.⁴⁰ This compendium took into account four canons of

40. Cf. Plummer, *VRHE*, IV, v, and note in situ, p. 212. "Librum canonum: collectionem canonum ecclesiae in concilio Calchedonensi approbatum, et a Dionysio Exiguo non diu antea in Latinum sermonem traductam et in ecclesiam occidentalem receptam."

the Church in North Africa, four canons of the Church in Antioch, four canons of the Church of Chalcydon, one of Laodicea, one Leonine canon, two Nicene, and three Sardican, while the tenth canon was in agreement with Neo-Caesarea, Saint Basil, and the Apostolic Canons. In source, if not in origin,⁴¹ the collection was decidedly Eastern. Knowledge of such a collection of canon law was not unusual in the continental Church of the seventh century but the knowledge and possession of such a body of ecclesiastical regulations by a bishop in Britain was sufficient to place him upon a pedestal as an undisputed authority in the fields of canon law and penitential discipline. The mere fact that Archbishop Theodore was able to demonstrate a knowledge of the canonical actions of previous general councils assured his fellow-bishops that their primate was in direct contact with the authentic and authoritatively central tradition of the Christian Church.

A careful reading of the account of the action taken by this synod, as dictated by Theodore to

41. With the blossoming of the Renaissance and the development of literary criticism, the work was proved to be a forgery of the Western Church.

his amamuensis, will well repay the student of the period. Following an introductory paragraph which records the date and composition of the synod, Theodore was careful to quote the introductory sentences of his formal charge. His choice of words is of primary theological significance.

I beseech you, most dearly beloved brethren, out of fear and love for our Redeemer, that unanimously, we take counsel together for our faith: that whatever has been decreed and defined by our holy and approved Fathers⁴² may be observed inviolably by all of us.

In other words, Archbishop Theodore explicitly challenged his synod to place itself upon record as in unanimous accord with the previous General Councils of the Church. By assenting to such an archiepiscopal charge, the Church in England irrevocably placed itself on record as accepting all Catholic dogma as defined to that date. Theologically, the decision was replete with later implications and from a purely canonical, legal, standpoint, the dogmatic position of the Church was established as impregnable.

In content, these ten canons were of a very practical nature. The Roman dating of Easter was

42. Bede, IV,v; and our Appendix I.

reasserted; it was agreed that bishops mutually would respect jurisdictional boundaries; the inviolable right of monastic property was declared; reasonable controls were placed upon the movement of monks from house to house; secular clergy were likewise bound to regulate their movements from jurisdiction to jurisdiction in accord with episcopal permissions; an annual provincial synod was planned; episcopal precedence was determined according to date of consecration; the number of bishops was to be increased as needs required; incest was condemned, marital separation was permitted on the single ground of fornication, and marriage after divorce was forbidden. The wisdom and practical nature of each of these canons were obvious. To be sure, history proved that it was not always convenient to assemble the episcopate for an annual synod and the increase of the number of bishops had to be postponed.⁴³ Indeed, with respect to additional bishops, Theodore was quite careful to note that "we generally urged adoption of this article but recommended no specific action." The time was not

43. Cf. also Appendix IV, Theodore's Penitential, II, 11,3.

ripe to make radical advances in the re-organization of the Church, especially in a matter which touched the tender spot of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and its collateral property claims. As for the canon on marriage, it is clear that the synod intended to uphold the evangelical ideal of the universal Church. Yet the one exception allowing separation and rigid prohibition of remarriage for the "innocent party" proved to be overly severe for a society which was just emerging from paganism. Once ratified, however, these canons were to constitute a fundamental legal document for the entire British province; they remained such until the year 735 when York was raised to the status of an archiepiscopal see.

In the assembling and conduct of this synod, Archbishop Theodore displayed an undeniable genius for administrative order together with a positive concern to maintain the Faith of the Church Catholic. More than this, by his choice of several canons from among many for special consideration, and his willingness to postpone definite action relative to the increase of the episcopate, he demonstrated a genuine sense of proportion and a most enviable administrative patience. Seen in the large and with the aid of an historical perspective, "the

synod of 672 can fairly be regarded as marking a definite stage in the process which wore down the separation of the different English Kingdoms."⁴⁴ From the point of view of the student of constitutional history, Archbishop Theodore's Synod of Hertford is a most important landmark.

4. The Theodoran Penitential.

At this stage, it is necessary for us to deal with the question of Archbishop Theodore's role as judge in matters of provincial discipline for chroniclers, both ancient and modern have made vague and sometimes presumptive reference to Theodore as a penitential legist.⁴⁵ And surely their eagerness to understand Archbishop Theodore in this role can be easily understood when one takes into consideration both the civil and religious responsibilities which ordinarily fell to the medieval bishop. Even a cursory reading of secular hist-

44. Stenton, AES, 133.

45. Stenton, AES, 139f, notes, for instance, that for "the men of the next generation," Theodore was "honoured ...also as a legist, who could show the bearing of both Greek and Roman practice on English problems." Egbert of York reckoned Theodore as a leading authority (along with Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory) in penitential matters. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 418. Cf. also Oscar D. WATKINS, A History of Penance, HOP, II, 649ff.

tory reveals that a bishop of the seventh century often found himself in the position of consultant and even judge in British tribal councils and, indeed, the line of demarcation between civil folkmoot and ecclesiastical court is at this period impossible to define with any degree of accuracy.⁴⁶ It has only been natural, therefore, that when confronted with the impressive document which for centuries was known as the Penitential of Theodore, many a medieval chronicler assumed that it was produced by the Archbishop on the occasion of the Hertford Synod. This, however, was an obvious confusion between the official set of canons, the identity of which has never been called in question and which have been preserved for posterity in the pages of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and that collection of "penitential" documents which circulated under the name of Theodore. Unfortunately, we are quite unable to locate the composition of a penitential within the recorded career of Archbishop Theodore: the pages of the Venerable Bede, for example, are completely silent on the question of a Theodoran penitential. And yet, knowing what we do about

46. Joliffe, CME, 11.

the conference at Hertford and the judicial problems which repeatedly faced the seventh-century bishop, we submit that the initial composition of such a manual by Theodore could be quite possible at this period of his career. Problems demanding episcopal pronouncements were beginning to multiply; the need for some sort of manual guide was increasingly felt.

The critical question which faces us, however, is as to whether Theodore actually could have composed the penitential which bears his name. That such a literary feat was not unlikely we have already suggested; that penitential manuals were in circulation in the generation following Archbishop Theodore is certain. Furthermore, Archbishop Egbert of York, writing the preface to his own penitential in the following century, made it clear that he expected every priest to have in his possession a small liturgical library comprising a Psalter, Lectionary, Antiphonary, Missal, Baptismal, Martyrology, Calendar, and Penitential.⁴⁷ That peniten-

47. Haddan and Stubbs, *CED*, III, 417. "Nunc ergo, O fratres, qui voluerit sacerdotatem accipere, inprimitus pro Deum cogitet et preparet arma ejus, antequam manus Episcopi tangat caput, id est psalterium, lectionarium, antefonarium, missalem, baptisterium, martyrlogium, in anno circuli ad predicationem cum bonis operibus, et compotum et ciclo, hoc est jus sacerdotum, post autem suum penitentialem...." Cf. Cabrol, *ACAN*, 297.

tial manuals were being employed by the indigenous churches of the British Isles is also well known;⁴⁸ that "the Pope's writ ran and the Roman canon law was in operation precisely as elsewhere in Christendom" in the medieval *Ecclesia Anglicana* of the Venerable Bede is likewise accepted by all canonists of any repute.⁴⁹ In other words, we are dealing with a period in which two distinct aspects of ecclesiastical order were still confused in the mind of the average clergyman. That there should have been such a confusion is only natural for in most cases, the minister of discipline was the bishop himself and it remained for the more orderly minds among the episcopate to separate the distinct field of canon law from that of the pastoral discipline of the confessional. The existence of early Celtic manuals suggests that the indigenous clergy had been content to deal with the problems of ecclesiastical discipline on the level of the confession-

48. Thomas Pollock OAKLEY, English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law, EPD, 27ff. Cf. also Haddan and Stubbs, CMD, I, II.

49. Norman SYKES, "Canon Law--Then and Now," Spectator, February 6, 1948, Art. (1948). This point should not be overstressed, however. Although Roman canon law was theoretically in operation throughout the middle ages in Britain, knowledge of its content was generally confined to the period after the Conquest. Cf. Z. N. BROOKE, The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John, ECP, 58-73; F. W. MAITLAND, Roman Canon Law in the Church of England, RCLE.

al, while accounts of Theodore's two major provincial synods indicate that the newly reorganized British province was rapidly becoming acquainted with the necessity for a body of canon law according to which the wider problems of ecclesiastical government might be settled.⁵⁰ For the ordinary Theodoran bishop, however, this did not settle the practical problem of dealing with scores of concrete moral and religious problems as raised by the penitent. Thus, we would suggest that somewhere within the career of Archbishop Theodore, there must be room to account for the penitential tradition upon which his fame mainly was to rest for five centuries after his death.⁵¹

50. Cf. the excellent review of this development in The Canon Law of The Church of England (being a report of the Archbishops' Commission on Canon Law), pp. 9-12.

51. The early nineteenth-century German scholar, C. F. ROSSHIRT, Zu den Kirchenrechtlichen Quellen des ersten Jahrtausends, 114, was satisfied to conclude that Theodore probably did write a penitential. "Hic primus videtur apud Latinos de poenitentia scripsisse: quem sequutus est Beda ejus fortasse discipulus. Sumpsit poenitentias Theodorus Graecus ex Basilio et aliis Graecis patribus, ita videtur eorum acerbiter ac severitatem sequi. Quae res efferit, ut paulatim haec ratio puniendi delicta abolita sit. Sed male in contraria lapsi sumus: ut dum acerbiter fugimus, favemus morbis, vel fovemus potius haec crimina impunitate data." He based his conclusion upon a series of pertinent passages which he had culled from a number of medieval historians. A catena of the passages which Rosshirt found convincing is assembled as Appendix V. Sections 5, 7, and 8 are to the point.

Against this background, we may now examine directly the problem of the penitential which bears Theodore's name. Very fortunately, the literary criticism of this document and indeed of that larger body of manuscripts known as "Theodoran penitentials" is not part of the present project and with profound gratitude to the host of scholars who have preceded us, we can declare the major work of penitential criticism as having been completed. For our present purposes, however, it may be of value to review the extended critical work which has been accomplished on the Theodoran penitentials and which permits us to submit with some degree of assurance, as an appendix to this biographical monograph, an English translation of the document which most probably represents a sound tradition of the great Archbishop's opinions and judgements.⁵²

We have already noted that for several centuries following his death, Theodore's reputation was maintained, and in large degree inflated, by the amazing

52. The finest summary of this critical work may be found in the review of Paul Willem FINSTERWALDER, Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Ueberlieferungs-CTC, by F. de ZULUETTA, English Historical Review, xlv, 645-7. The summary provided in Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 173-176, is fairly exhaustive but needs the revision of Zuluetta's more recent appraisal.

growth and circulation of a group of documents of a penitential character which claimed the great archbishop as their author. Yet it was not until the science of literary criticism blossomed in the late Renaissance that this claim could be examined while the conclusion of the work has only been achieved within the last two decades.

The first important attempt to ascertain the authentic Theodoran penitential was made by Spelman in his monumental work, Concilia Britanniae, published in 1639.⁵³ Later, in the year 1669, there was published in France under the name of D'Achery, a volume called Spicilegium.⁵⁴ These two works are important for they inaugurated two rather distinct documentary traditions in the study of penitentials. The work of Spelman was largely based on an important manuscript which he found at Cambridge University while that of D'Achery consisted in the compilation of several continental manuscripts under the title, Capitula Selecta. D'Achery was not unfamiliar with the family of manuscripts stemming from the major

53. SPELMAN, Concilia Britanniae, CB. This work is available at the Bodleian and the library of the British Museum.

54. Domnus Luca D'ACHERY, Spicilegium. A copy of this may be viewed at the Bodleian, Oxford.

document available to Spelman at Cambridge but he unfortunately confused his entire piece of research by failing to separate from the English family of manuscripts a series of divergent and generally spurious continental documents. Some years afterwards, his work was reexamined and enlarged by Jacques Petit and published as Theodori Poenitentiale in 1677. Simultaneously at Oxford University, there was going on a quiet work under the hand of a German divine, Dr. Johann Ernst Grabe of St. Edmund's Hall. Neither Stubbs nor Wasserschleben, nor indeed any of the other critics make mention of this early work, yet the incomplete notes in seventeenth-century copybook style as produced by Dr. Grabe and his students may still be examined in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the work was never brought to completion and thus was never published. It is notable, nevertheless, because it was based on the best of the English manuscripts.⁵⁶ During the succeeding years, new editions of both Spelman and D'Achery were published, in-

55. Johann Ernst GRABE (GRABIUS), Theodori Archiepiscopi Cantuariensi Liber Poenitentialis cum Dissertatione de Theodori hujus Poenitentialis. Bodleian Ms.12.

56. Ms.190, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

cluding the edition of British national manuscripts by Benjamin Thorpe under the authority of the Royal Commission. In 1884, Dr. Friedrich Kunstmann of Mainz published a work in which he separated the Latin penitentials from the native Celtic documents.⁵⁷ It is of significance in that it not only re-edits the work of Thorpe but was followed, a year later, by a collection of 193 canons, under the title Canones Gregoriani, which he had extracted from the Theodoran work. Migne followed in 1851 with a printing of Petit's edition.⁵⁸ In the same year, there was published a study which was destined to become one of the most definitive critical works in the field: Wasserschleben's Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche.⁵⁹ It has only been succeeded by the text in Haddan and Stubbs' standard volumes of Irish and British documents, and the fairly recent work by Paul Finsterwalder.⁶⁰ The net result of this extended research has been to establish the essential authenticity of those

57. Friedrich KUNSTMANN, Die Lateinischen Pönitentialbücher der Angelsachsen, and Canones Gregoriani.

58. Migne, IC, of the Patrologia Latina.

59. F. W. H. WASSERSCHLEBEN, Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche, EAK.

60. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III; Paul Willem FINSTERWALD-

manuscripts deriving from the parent document at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.⁶¹ Generally speaking, those manuscripts which were circulated upon the continent were clearly the work of the later middle ages and in many instances were derived from French and Latin sources. As to authorship, Wasserschleben raised serious question as to whether it is legitimate to connect the present Theodoran penitential with the seventh Archbishop of Canterbury.⁶² That Theodore was unquestionably in a position to inaugurate such a literary trend he was quite willing to concede.⁶³ But perhaps most important of all, Wasserschleben was quite positive in recognizing the import-

ER, Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Ueberlieferungsformen, CTC.

61. Ms.190,CCCC.

62. Wasserschleben, BAK,14f. "Von jeher hat man Theodor als den Verfasser des ersten angelsächsischen Beichtbuchs gepriesen, eines Werks, welches weit über die Grenzen der englischen Kirche hinaus gewirkt habe und in Frankreich und Deutschland lange Zeit Hauptquelle und Vorbild für die Bussordnungen gewesen sei. Die Einstimmigkeit dieser Tradition ist insofern auffallend, als in der That kein einziger sicherer Anhaltspunkt dafür besteht, dass Theodor je ein Beichtbuch verfasst habe. Keiner seiner Zeitgenossen erwähnt ein solches auch nur mit einer Sylbe, ebenso wenig Beda, welcher in seiner englischen Kirchengeschichte über Theodor's Wirksamkeit sehr genau und ausführlich berichtet, ein Schweigen, welches in der That unerklärlich wäre wenn Theodor wirklich ein so bedeutendes und einflussreiches Werk geschrieben hätte." "Im Liber Pontificalis,

ant role inevitably played by Archbishop Theodore himself in the conflation of divergent penitential practices in the Britain of his day and by his dominant reputation in the development of a "Theodoran" penitential tradition in the centuries after his death.⁶⁴

In more recent years, Finsterwalder has been somewhat more destructive of the tradition in support of the Theodoran authorship. He recognizes no dicta Theodori in the penitentials which bear his name.⁶⁵ Haddan and Stubbs, on the other hand, preferred a more conservative point of view and chose to regard at least large sections of the Penitential as substantially au-

dessen erste Redaktion in die 2te Hälfte des 8ten Jahrhunderts fällt, ist dasselbe erwähnt mit den Worten: 'Ex quibus Theodorus archiepiscopus peccantium iudicia, quantos scilicet annos pro unoquoque peccato quis poenitere debeat, mirabili et discreta consideratione descripsit,' Worte, welche hieraus Paulus Diaconus in seiner Geschichte der Longobarden wiederholt."

63. Wasserschleben, PAK, 13. "Gegen das Ende des 7ten Jahrhunderts nahm in England ein Mann den erzbischöflichen Stuhl von Canterbury ein, welcher auf das gesamte kirchliche Leben und namentlich auf Kräftigung und Läuterung der kirchlichen Disciplin einen durchgreifenden Einfluss ausgeübt hat und dessen Pönitential bisher stets als der Glanzpunkt der gesamten Literatur dieser Art, als Muster und Hauptquelle der spätern Bussordnungen bezeichnet worden ist."

64. Wasserschleben, PAK, 15. "In den spätern englischen Beichtbüchern, in der Collectio canonum Hubernensium aus dem 8ten Jahrhundert, in den fränkischen Pönitentialien

thentic, in the sense that they were derived directly from Theodore by a disciple or scribe.⁶⁶ With these qualifications, we do not hesitate to introduce the Theodoran Penitential as the nearest primary evidence obtainable of Theodore's opinion on matters requiring penitential judgement. In support of this position, we have the sagacious remark of Dom Fernand Cabrol:

Sur la théologie et sur la discipline il a exercé la plus grande influence par les règles qu'il a établies. Si le pénitential qui lui, est attribué n'est pas de lui, dans son intégrité, il s'inspire incontestablement de son esprit, et il peut en être considéré au moins moralement comme l'auteur.⁶⁷

Accordingly, for purposes of easy reference, we have pro-

und in den Kanonensammlungen bis zum 12ten Jahrhundert spielt Theodor einer grosse Rolle."

65. Finsterwalder, CTC, 199. "Eine Quellenuntersuchung der Dicta Theodori hat stets im Auge zu behalten, dass Theodor selbst kein Werk geschrieben hat, welches seine Praxis in Russ- wie Kirchenverwaltungsdisziplin zusammenfassend vereinigt hätte mit andern Worten: wir haben keinen authentischen Vortlaut seiner Entscheidungen. Was wir in den auf seinen Namen sich berufenden Ueberlieferungen besitzen, ist der Niederschlag seiner dicta in Aufzeichnungen andere."

66. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 173ff. "Although drawn up under the eye, and published with the authority of Theodore, it is not in the modern view a direct work of the great Archbishop. According to the preface, it is a collection of answers given by him to persons questioning him on the subject of penance: to which in Book II are

duced for the first time a complete English translation of the Theodoran Penitential. The document is included with this study as Appendix IV and constitutes a primary source for our present investigations.

In the Theodoran Penitential, then, to which we shall have increasing occasion to refer, especially as we proceed to examine the archbishop's more personal handling of problems which may be classified as of a pastoral nature, we are provided with a collection of judgements and teachings which represent as nearly as can be ascertained by modern scholarship the opinions of Archbishop Theodore. In some cases, these penitential articles may reflect the influence of existing Celtic manuals; at other times, it will be clear that the author attempted to mingle mercy with judgement and that he has used a most commendable degree of common

added answers on the whole range of ecclesiastical laws and discipline: most of them are received by a priest named Eoda, 'blessed memory,' from Theodore himself, and edited by a person who gives himself the title of 'Discipulus Umbrensius,' meaning thereby either a native of Northumbria who had been a disciple of Theodore, or more probably an Englishman of southern birth who had studied under the northern scholars."

67. Cabrol, *ACAN, L'Angleterre chrétienne avant les Normands*, 136f. Stenton, *AES*, 140, fn.1, is satisfied to use the resultant penitential corpus as "a genuine tradition of Theodore's judgements and teaching."

sense in balancing the opinions of Greek and Latin divines as he has adapted statutory penances to practical cases. In no way does this detract from the value of the documents. Rather is it clear proof that in handing down judgements for penitential discipline Archbishop Theodore had taken note of the practices of the Church of his youth, the stated preferences of the Roman order, and the progress which Celtic Churchmen, working to a large degree independently, had made in the production of their own manuals of religious correction.⁶⁸ The document is unquestionably inspired by a man of wide reading, extensive experience, and broad personal sympathies. Whatever may be said for or against the advisability of penitential manuals as such, it is certain that they constitute a mine of information on the problems of faith and order, life and worship as understood in the churches which produced them.

5. Baptism and Confirmation.

Until now, we have only been able to suggest the leadership which Archbishop Theodore, like the average seventh-century bishop, presumably exercised as

68. Cf. Oakley, EPD, for a complete discussion of sources.

the chief minister of Baptism and Confirmation. No incontestable evidence is extant to prove that the administration of Holy Baptism was retained within the hands of the episcopate; historical probability, however, would seem to indicate that the manpower shortage, if nothing else, assured that in Britain at least the bishop was often the minister of this evangelical sacrament. Certain articles in the Theodoran Penitential, however, clearly reveal that questions of baptismal irregularity were not unusual and that it remained for the bishop, in this case the archbishop, to lay down those principles upon which valid baptism could be recognized.

The fourth main section of the second book of the Penitential, for example, clearly indicates the extent to which the problem was being discussed. Doctrinally, Holy Baptism was unmistakably accepted as effecting the remission of sins.⁶⁹ Good works performed before Baptism were not to be despised and presumably were credited to an individual as beneficial. The emphasis, however, was placed upon the washing away of the candidate's previous evil life in Baptism.⁷⁰ Baptism

69. Pen. II, iv, 1.

70. Pen. II, iv, 3.

was incomplete without Confirmation, although the faithful were not to despair if such were lacking. This seems to imply that Baptism in many cases had been administered by presbyters and required the completion of confirmation by a bishop.⁷¹ Holy Unction, as an integral part of the Baptism-Confirmation administration was noted as having been fixed by the Council of Nicaea, while use of a chrismal napkin is implied by a canon which permitted the use of the same napkin on several candidates.⁷² Ideally, godparents were assigned for the period of catechumenate, Baptism, and Confirmation, the same person being permitted to act on all three occasions if necessary.⁷³ The sponsor himself had to be a baptized-confirmed Christian.⁷⁴ Once baptized, the newly initiated Christian was forbidden to eat with those who were still catechumens or to give them the Pax.⁷⁵ Two general observations may be made concerning the position of Baptism in the Theodoran Church: First, a reasonably clear doctrine of

71. Pen. II,iv,5.

72. Pen. II,iv,6,7.

73. Pen. II,iv,8.

74. Pen. II,iv,9.

75. Pen. II,iv,11. Cf. also Justin MARTYR, Apostolic Tradition (ed. Dom Gregory DIX), AT,29.

baptismal regeneration was emerging, and secondly, the administration of the sacrament in conjunction with or (at a later date) completed by Confirmation was surrounded by a generally accepted series of rubrically authorized ceremonies.

Concerning baptismal irregularities which undoubtedly had suggested the wisdom of clarifying the normal requirements and the specification of ceremonial accompaniments for Baptism, the Penitential is less helpful. Second Baptism was clearly forbidden and in the case of those who had received a second Baptism, they would never be ordained except in case of great necessity.⁷⁶ The only recognized second Baptism was the "Baptism of tears," presumably the tears of genuine penitence for post-baptismal sins.⁷⁷ The doctrine of sacramental indelibility and the ex opere operato view of Baptism were issues which were raised relative to the larger question of valid orders, and were suspended in certain cases of questionable Baptism. Baptism by a heretic, who did not hold the orthodox view of the Trinity, for instance,

76. Pen. I,x,1.

77. Pen. II,iv,4.

was regarded as invalid.⁷⁸ The Penitential, however, gives evidence that either Theodore or his disciple was here acting contrary to the decrees of the Council of Nicaea inasmuch as a redactor tries to gloss-over the difficulty by remarking that he did not believe that Theodore intentionally had issued this decision contrary to Nicaea. In all probability, Theodore, (like the modern Roman Catholic priest) had decided to take no chances: A heretic who was unclear as to the doctrine of the Trinity might easily have administered Holy Baptism in a defective manner. A more complicated problem was raised in the case of a clergyman who through accident had been ordained before having been baptized.⁷⁹ Those baptized by him were required to be re-baptized, while his own ordination had to be repeated. An additional gloss on the text of the Penitential, however, observes that the Roman See judged differently and asserted that the Holy Spirit was the minister of the grace of Baptism.⁸⁰ Clear-

78. Pen. I,v,6.

79. Pen. I,ix,12,12a.

80. Pen. II,ii,13.

ly, the Theodoran Church was faced with numerous cases of irregularity and an absolute settlement of the problem of sacramental indelibility as applied to Baptism had to await the developments of later centuries. Generally speaking, we may assume that the weight of opinion in the Theodoran Church was against recognizing the indelibility of this sacrament. In one case, at least, re-baptism was always required--Baptism at the hands of a presbyter convicted of fornication.⁸¹

6. Orders, Depositions and Clerical Restrictions.

Already, we have observed that Archbishop Theodore found it necessary to sit in judgement on the question of valid episcopal orders in the case of Bishop Chad. The Penitential, moreover, indicates that the position of Scottish and British clergy continued to be a perplexing one. Yet, its terminology suggests that the mode of settlement was a characteristically Roman one and that it is not based upon the theological principle which we had suggested governed Theodore's re-ordination of Chad. According to the Penitential, "those who have been ordained by Scots or British bishops," simply "must

81. Pen. II,ii,12.

be confirmed again with the imposition of hands by a catholic bishop."⁸² Churches originally consecrated by such bishops would have to be asperged and re-confirmed with prayer. Dispensing of Holy Chrism or the Holy Eucharist to schismatic bishops was also precluded until they had declared themselves for the unity of the Church Catholic.⁸³

Sometime between 675 and 679, as we shall presently have occasion to note more fully, Theodore found it necessary to depose Bishop Winfrid of Lichfield. "Disobedience" is the only reason given and it is to be noted that it is not among those crimes catalogued in the Penitential as worthy of deposition. Confronted with the anomalous situations of a missionary church and the moral instability of unsettled tribal communities, the problem of exercising a strict discipline upon the clergy themselves was also inevitable. Accordingly, Archbishop Theodore laid down six distinct grounds upon which a cler-

82. Pen. II, ix, 1. Possibly this may be understood more correctly as actual re-ordination. If so, Theodore's own principle is upheld.

83. Pen. II, ix, 2, 3.

gyman could be deposed from his ministry. These included fornication, marriage to "a strange woman" (possibly a clandestine marriage or concubinage), adultery, and refusal upon some trivial excuse to administer Baptism to the dying, homicide, Baptism of someone through timidity (i.e. if forced to do so against one's better judgement).⁸⁴ Resumption of a lay habit by any man in Holy Orders or the possession of a concubine likewise were regarded as sufficient reason to preclude ordination to a higher order but neither of these is specified as sufficient reason for deposition.⁸⁵ Such regulations relating to marriage, adultery, and concubinage clearly indicate that the maintenance of a celibate clergy, although by this time officially desirable, was still confronted by the human factor--men in Holy Orders who insisted upon the right to marry.

Certain more specific canons were in operation to regulate the various movements and practices of all clergy. In case of necessity, for instance, a

84. Pen. I, ix, 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11.

85. Pen. I, ix, 2, 6.

bishop was permitted to confirm in the open field, while a presbyter was permitted to celebrate masses in an open field provided he himself or a deacon held the chalice and oblation.⁸⁶ Bishops were expected to sit in judgement on cases of the poor involving a maximum sum of fifty solidi; cases involving larger sums went to the higher court of the king.⁸⁷ In the case of a criminal unable to raise the sum of his fine, he could be held in slavery by a bishop or an abbot.⁸⁸ Dispensation from vows was the prerogative of the bishop.⁸⁹ Celebration of Mass and the sanctifying of a cross were permitted to a presbyter on Good Friday.⁹⁰ Payment of tithes to a presbyter was not compulsory.⁹¹ A presbyter or other cleric reading the responses at Mass wore his clerical habit but was required to lower his hood to his shoulders at the reading of the Gospel, while the "Holy Sacrifice" was only to be received from the hands of those priests

86. Pen. II,11,1,2.

87. Pen. II,11,4.

88. Pen. II,11,5.

89. Pen. II,11,6.

90. Pen. II,11,7.

91. Pen. II,11,8.

who were able to say the prayers and read the lections according to the legal rite.⁹² Deacons were subject to several restrictions: although they might baptize and bless food and drink, they were not to break or distribute the Holy Bread at the Eucharist, say the Collect, the Dominus Vobiscum, or the Completa, nor were they to assign penances.⁹³ Once more we may observe that although certain irregularities may have been permitted within the Theodoran Church, there was a genuine attempt to have things done decently and in order. Particularly must this have been true of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist if it was thought sufficiently important to publish canons respecting the use of an authorized rite, the correct wearing of appropriate vestments, and the careful separation of diaconal from sacerdotal duties among the ministers of the altar.

7. The Division of Dioceses.

The ninth canon of the Synod of Hertford

92. Pen. II,ii,10,11. "Sacrificium non est accipiendi de manu sacerdotis, qui orationes vel lectiones secundum ritum implere non potest." "Presbyter si responsoria cantat in missa, vel quicunque, cappam suam non tollat, sed evangelium, legens super humeros ponat."

93. Pen. II,ii,14,15,16.

had specified the desirability of increasing the number of bishops as the Church grew and the need for additional episcopal care arose. No specific action had been taken at that time. Yet, "by its reserve on the creation of new dioceses, the council of Hertford laid a direct responsibility on the archbishop."⁹⁴

Accordingly, upon finding that the extensive territory of East Anglia was beyond the physical capacity of the ailing Bishop Bisi of Dunwich, Theodore divided the diocese, consecrating Badwin to a new see at Elmham (later, Norfolk), and Acci as coadjutor to Bisi at the original see of Dunwich.⁹⁵ More or less contemporaneous with these events, Theodore took advantage of the death of Wini to appoint Erkenwald as bishop of the East Saxons with see at London.⁹⁶ A year or so later, probably in 676, Heddi was consecrated by Theodore at London (perhaps with the assistance of its new bishop) as successor to Lothere at Winchester.⁹⁷ The neighbor-

94. Stenton, AES, 134.

95. Bede, HE, IV, v.

96. Bede, HE, IV, vi.

97. Bede, HE, IV, xii.

ing see of Dorchester presumably had been allowed to become defunct. This may be inferred from Bede's note concerning the translation of the bones of Pirinus from there to Winchester.⁹⁸ Almost contemporaneously inter-tribal warfare disrupted the work in and around Rochester and Bishop Putta was driven from his see never to return. Putta was succeeded by Cwichelm but he, too, found it impossible to remain and was replaced upon abandoning his see for want of the necessary material support by a third Theodoran appointment, Bishop Gebmund.⁹⁶

Not long after the civil and ecclesiastical revolution in Rochester, Theodore found it expedient to depose Bishop Winfrid of Lichfield. Bede's only explanation is that Theodore was "offended with the bishop of the Mercians for a certain crime of disobedience."⁹⁹ Perhaps Theodore's plans to divide the overly large dioceses had been resisted by Winfrid.¹⁰⁰ Whatever the case, he was removed and apparently without any appeal

98. Bede, HE, III, vii.

99. Bede, HE, IV, vi. "Non multo post haec elapso tempore, offensus a Vynfride Merciorum episcopo per meritum cuiusdam inobedientiae, Theodorus archiepiscopus deposuit eum de episcopatu...."

100. Bright, EEC, 265.

to an episcopal synod, retired to his monastery of Ad-barwae. He was immediately replaced by Saxwulf who distinguished himself by the building of the famous monastery of Medeshamstead.

By the year 677, the impetuous Bishop Wilfrid of York once more found himself in difficulty with the civil authorities. So serious was the upheaval in Northumbria that Archbishop Theodore found it necessary to travel to York to make a personal investigation of the quarrel. Upon his arrival, probably in the next year, he discovered that Wilfrid had been ejected from his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and from all appearances, it was obvious that no easy settlement was to be reached. The civil authority, in the person of King Egfrid, held the upper hand.¹⁰¹ He was adamant in his attitude toward Wilfrid and the more the Bishop pleaded his rights and suggested an appeal to the Roman See, the more stubborn became the King in his refusal to reinstate Wilfrid. Under the circumstances, what was Archbishop Theodore to do? From the standpoint of Bishop Wilfrid and his zealous biographer, Eddius Stephanus, the archbishop's action

101. Bede, HE, IV, xix.

may have seemed highhanded.¹⁰² From the standpoint of the original papal plan of diocesan administration for Britain, the obvious foolhardiness of Bishop Wilfrid, and the exigencies of the immediate situation, now hopelessly complicated by a serious quarrel with the civil authority, we submit that Archbishop Theodore's action needs little defense. Thus ejected, Bishop Wilfrid was soon to run off to appeal his case at Rome; meanwhile episcopal care would be needed at York.¹⁰³ Accordingly, Theodore consecrated Bosa to this see where he remained until 705. Taking advantage of this occasion to divide the preposterously cumbersome Northumbrian jurisdiction, Theodore created a new see at Lindsey, consecrating Eadhed as bishop. Lindisfarne, which for generations had maintained a monastic tradition of its own, received Eata who was also to care for Wilfrid's original jurisdiction at Hexham, at least until its rightful bishop could be re-instated.¹⁰⁴ While in Northumbria, Archbishop

102. Colgrave, *LOW*, sec. 24-30. Among other things, Eddius claims that Theodore received a bribe from Egfrid.

103. Wilfrid did not return until 680!

104. Bede, *HE*, IV, xii. Cf. Poole, *SCH*, 64-67, notes that Malmesbury, *Gesta. Pont.*, 219f., understood that Wilfrid was simply restricted to his original see and thus departs from Eddius when he comes to Theodore's disposition of the problem.

Theodore made a special visit to Lindisfarne and there consecrated a new church, possibly as the Penitential suggests, asperging the edifice with holy water midst processional psalmody.¹⁰⁵ Of more significant note is the fact that Finan's church was dedicated in honour of Saint Peter. This constituted a distinct departure from the Celtic custom which applied the name of the founder. Perhaps, as Canon Bright suggested, Theodore set this precedent "with a view...to the exhibition of his metropolitan authority within the former stronghold of 'schismatic' Celticism...."¹⁰⁶ Finally, (perhaps before his return to Canterbury), Archbishop Theodore took care to write a letter to the Bishop of Rome explaining the Northumbrian friction between Wilfrid and King Egfrid and the specific action which he had deemed expedient under the circumstances.¹⁰⁷

8. Church and State.

The settlement of ecclesiastical policy,

105. Bede, HE, III, xxv; Pen. II, 1.

106. Bright, EEC, 294.

107. Bright, EEC, 303, fn. 1; Haddan and Stubbs, CLED, III, 136ff. "quia eo tempore Ceonwald religiosus monachus a sancto Theodoro Archiepiscopo cum suis literis emissus Roman venit...."

personal relations with bishops, and the division of overly-large dioceses were not the only serious problems with which Archbishop Theodore was required to deal. Equally urgent was the increasingly complex relationship between Church and State. Initially, this relationship had been a simple one and reduced itself to a gentlemanly arrangement for royal sponsorship of a candidate for the episcopate.¹⁰⁸ Settlement of the candidate in his see was usually effected by granting to the bishop a specified amount of property including a tract of land, buildings, and the personnel to operate such a familia.¹⁰⁹ Needless to say, a grant of real estate carried with it a much coveted social position within the larger tribal community. The election of Wighard as a candidate for the archbishopric, Archbishop Theodore's own acceptance by the king of Kent and his settlement at Canterbury were each conceived upon this very simple and direct relationship between Church and State. Occasionally, es-

108. Bede, HE.III,xxix.

109. We have already observed that the word familia fundamentally denoted a tract of land and that its use by Bede was a common one. Cf. HE,I,xxv; III,xxiv,xiii,xvi,xix; VSAM,4,6. Cf. Bright, BEC,164,fn.6; Jolliffe, CHE, 16-18.

pecially when some matter of major doctrinal or disciplinary dispute threatened to disrupt not only the peace of the Church but the political solidarity of the kingdom, a tribal gemot or ecclesiastical synod was sponsored in the attempt to effect a settlement of the problem. The Council of Whitby in 664 is a notable example of this particular type of collaboration between civil and religious leaders.¹¹⁰ It was not the last; and we are not overly surprised, for example, to find King Egfrid of York attending, among others, the Synod of Hertford in 672 and the smaller synod at Twyford some years later.¹¹¹

One rather conclusive indication of the patent simplicity and directness of this relationship between civil and ecclesiastical authorities is to be found in the complete absence in any genuine seventh-century British document of the phrase rex Dei gratia. Theodore himself had been styled archbishop by Divine favour on at least one occasion.¹¹² Yet, as Joliffe has pointed out, Theodore himself took care to withhold the title from

110. Bede, HE, III, xxv.

111. Bede, HE, V, xxv, and IV, xxviii.

112. Bede, HE, IV, xvii; Joliffe, CHE, 44.

the several kings with whom he had occasion to carry on a correspondence. The relationship was still a relatively simple matter of family and tribal sponsorship; it had not yet been felt necessary to theorize upon the problem.

If the refined niceties of definition were lacking, the more practical political and business transactions compensated for their absence. In two instances, at least, terms of financial liability had been clearly defined. The first related to the wergeld which was a stated sum of money to be paid by a murderer, for example, to the family or survivors of the deceased. In the course of time, the wergeld was modified to include smaller amounts of compensation for partial physical injuries.¹¹³ Reflections of the wergeld principle may be found in the Theodoran Penitential where restitution of money or property is required.¹¹⁴ A major modification of the compensation principle, or perhaps the development of an entirely new concept of property rights, is to be found in the relationship between slaves and freemen as reflected in

113. Joliffe, CHE, 3, 5, 17f.

114. Pen. I, iv, 1, iii, 2, 3; Joliffe, CHE, 13, 17f.

an entire section of the Penitential where the property rights of serfs and bondservants are set forth.¹¹⁵ The second instance of careful definition in monetary transactions was in connection with the payment of an ecclesiastical tithe. Although the documents are somewhat ambiguous at this point, it seems clear that "the payment of tithe was a religious duty, incumbent as a matter of conscience on all Christians."¹¹⁶ Yet there seems to have been no consistent enforcement of tithe. Stenton, for instance, feels that a man was left free to appropriate his tithe to whatever purpose appealed to him; the canons of the Penitential would seem to support this position. Tithe could lawfully be given only to the poor, to pilgrims, and by laymen to their churches.¹¹⁷ In other words, an arbitrary tithe was not required for the support of a priest, although it should not be assumed that support of the Church and clergy was lightly regarded.

115. Pen.II,xiii. Cf. Joliffe, CHE,2,14.

116. Stenton, AES,154.

117. Pen. II,xiv,9. "Tributum ecclesiae sit, sicut consuetudo provinciae, id est, ne tantum pauperes inde in decimis aut in aliquibus rebus vim patientur." Cf. also II,ii,8. "Presbitero decimas dare non cogitur." II,xiv,10. These three canons (it may be noted) are the earliest authority for the history of the tithe in England.

Still the support of the episcopate and in many instances of the local clergy was to come not from the poor layman but from the lord or royal personage who originally founded a diocesan see or built a church. The intent of such regulations is clear: expansion of the Christian Church through the multiplication of private churches was not to divert the tithe from its primary objectives. Protection of the interests of the poor was thus guaranteed by the canon law of the Church. As Stenton has concluded, tithe to the average Christian "was part of the general revenue of the whole Church rather than a means of supporting the clergy of individual parishes."¹¹⁸

A somewhat more bothersome aspect of the relationship between Church and State was the question of war service for the clergy. It was only natural that kings and tribal leaders should view with growing suspicion the withdrawal of substantial manpower from their communities into monastic foundations. Particularly was this so in later years when unscrupulous persons began to

118. This position is in marked contrast to that of a century later when tithe was extended and made obligatory. Cf. Clovesho, 786, Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 456f.

take shelter in the monasteries and thus abused the privileges of religious enclosure.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the Theodoran Penitential was uncompromising in its statement of clerical pacifism. . Under no circumstances were clergy to take up arms. Such was not the ministry to which they had been called; rather was their vocation the time-honoured ministry of reconciliation as the servants of God.¹²⁰ Furthermore, homicide by a clergyman constituted one of the several undebatable grounds for deposition.¹²¹ The hands of the ministers of the altar were to remain unstained from the blood of their fellow-men.

Probably no more realistic pictures of the relations between Church and State are available than in the biographical entries which Bede provides of such civil and ecclesiastical leaders as Kings Egfrid and Ethelred, and Bishop Wilfrid. Of King Egfrid of York, we note that he was in attendance at the important Synod of Hertford in 672,¹²² expelled Bishop Wilfrid from his

119. Bede, VSAM, 11f.

120. Pen. II, xiv, 4. "Servo Dei nullatenus licet pugnare, multorum licet sit concilio servorum Dei."

121. Pen. I, ix, 8. "Qui occiderit hominem...deponatur."

122. Bede, HE, V, xxiv.

episcopal see after the latter had tactlessly persuaded his queen to take the veil,¹²³ waged war with King Ethelred of Mercia and for a time almost completely disrupted all semblance of civil and religious stability in that region,¹²⁴ (Peace was only restored through the intervention of Archbishop Theodore) and attended the small synod at Twyford.¹²⁵ More than this, and despite his lack of hesitance to interfere with his own bishop when expediency demanded, King Egfrid distinguished himself on several occasions as the royal patron and generous benefactor of the schools and monastic foundations of Benedict Biscop.¹²⁶ Finally, we note that he considered the consecration of Cuthbert of Lindisfarne of such importance that he attended personally, presumably in the role of royal sponsor.¹²⁴

A brief survey of the contrasting career of King Ethelred of Mercia first reveals him in the role of a tribal warrior who ravaged Kent and for a time at

123. Bede, HE, IV, xii; V, xxiv.

124. Bede, HE, IV, xxi.

125. Bede, HE, IV, xxviii.

126. Bede, VSAM, 1, 4, 7.

least even threatened the continuance of the Christian Church as a recognizable social institution in that area.¹²⁷ Later we learn that he piously acted as royal sponsor for Ostor as Bishop of the Middle English.¹²⁸ Then, as a most convincing example of what the Good News of the Prince of Peace can do to the heart of a ruthless man of war, we note that King Ethelred abandoned his kingdom, withdrew from the world, took Holy Orders, and passed his remaining years as Abbot of the monastery of Bardney.¹²⁹ It was while there that Abbot Ethelred, now zealous for the cause of the Church, and perhaps somewhat prejudiced against the handling of episcopal affairs by his former political rival, King Egfrid of York, interceded in the interests of Bishop Wilfrid's restoration to Hexham.

The chequered career of Bishop Wilfrid himself gave rise to one of the most difficult problems ever to face Archbishop Theodore. To be sure, there had been times when Theodore (and even the cause of the entire Christian Church in Britain) had been more or less

127. Bede, HE,V,xxiv; IV,xii.

128. Bede, HE,IV,xxiii.

129. Bede, HE,V,xix; xxiv.

at the mercy of the patronage and royal whims of the kings of Mercia and York. Generally, however, Archbishop Theodore had found it expedient to encourage them in the role of royal protectors and defenders of the faith. Any other policy, we submit, would have been sheer rashness. It is thus that we can understand Theodore's hesitancy to take a firm hand in the reinstatement of Bishop Wilfrid after his second expulsion from his Northumbrian jurisdiction. Upon his arrival in Britain, Theodore had given Wilfrid the benefit of the doubt: he had removed Chad whose episcopal orders were in question and restored Wilfrid to his see. When after a few short years, Bishop Wilfrid was again ejected from his see, Theodore clearly understood that in King Egfrid and Bishop Wilfrid he was dealing with two mutually incompatible personalities and a most explosive question concerning the future relationship between State patronage and ecclesiastical privilege. Furthermore, remembering his archiepiscopal charge to reorganize the Church in Britain upon a sound basis, Theodore concluded that it would be necessary to accede to the wishes of King Egfrid and recognize the de facto expulsion of Bishop Wilfrid if the original papal plans were to be carried out. Otherwise there

would have been absolutely no hope of ever dividing the huge Northumbrian jurisdiction and appointing an adequate team of bishops for its pastoral care. When Bishop Wilfrid returned from Rome, after a partially successful appeal to the Papal court, and was not only refused re-instatement but was imprisoned for a period of some months, it was finally clear that whatever might be Wilfrid's technical rights to the jurisdiction of York, there was no practicable way in which they could be realised. Archbishop Theodore's silence at this time may suggest personal cowardice. We submit, however, that silent though the archbishop may have been and even granting some sorrow for the foolhardy Wilfrid, Theodore perceived that the important practical grant of royal patronage was dependent upon a reasonable degree of national autonomy on matters ecclesiastical. In no way was Archbishop Theodore flaunting the decrees of the Holy See. His refusal to intervene was simply a tacit recognition that under the circumstances his hands were tied. Relations between Church and State had been pursued upon the basis of friendship and mutual respect and thus in the nature of things whatever settlements had been arrived at during the first decade of his primacy had been more or less

tentative. Now what had been merely a temporary working arrangement was fast becoming a sacred tradition. That Theodore accepted the situation as he found it, that he adapted it as conditions permitted--thus baptizing the social structure of an as yet politically amorphous England--, and finally that he refused to permit the misfortunes of a precocious but impetuous bishop to destroy the traditions of amiable co-operation which he had built up over a period of years are significant facts which vindicate Archbishop Theodore's policy of expediency and lift him to the level of a sound ecclesiastical statesman.

9. The Provincial Synod of Hatfield; A.D.679.

Having taken note of the regulations for Baptism-Confirmation, clerical deposition, the general restrictions upon clergy, and the initial reorganization of the British province, and thus examined what is a fairly representative sample of the variety of problems which confronted Archbishop Theodore during his first decade in Britain, it may be well to take this opportunity to discuss Theodore in the role of Guardian of the Faith. Already, we have observed the very positive, if somewhat ambiguous, resolutions introduced by Theodore

at the Synod of Hertford in 672. That composite statement affirmed that the Church in England, as represented by its bishops, held inviolable whatever had been decreed and defined by the holy and approved Fathers of the Church Catholic.¹³⁰ Now, once more in the light of contemporary theological discussion both at Rome and Constantinople it was necessary to place on record the orthodoxy of the Church in Britain. At Constantinople, a combination of political and religious intrigue had persuaded the Patriarch Theodore to impede the emperor's negotiations with Rome by withdrawing the name of Pope Vitalian from the diptychs. Yet, despite this insult diplomatic relations were maintained between the Patriarch and Pope Donnus.¹³¹ By the time the Patriarch's correspondence had arrived, Pope Agatho had succeeded to the papal chair. Very naturally he received overtures from the East with some hesitation. Brother Every, for instance, remarks that he "feared lest the little learning of Latin ecclesiastics should entangle them in some subtle compromise that later

130. Cf. Chapter IV, p.196 ; Appendix I.

131. Every, BP,78. In 678, for example, the Patriarch was still carrying on correspondence with the Pope.

consideration might not be able to sustain." At least, he was determined not to follow the example of Vigilius and Honorius, whose theological collaboration with the East obviously had been undertaken with the intention of winning the favour of the Byzantine Emperor. Accordingly, Pope Agatho requested at least two episcopal councils of advice to hold advance discussions of the issues at stake.¹³² One was held in Milan in 679; another was the synod of bishops assembled by Archbishop Theodore at Hatfield in the autumn of 679.¹³³ On each occasion, careful statements of theological doctrine were considered, debated, and subscribed by the participating bishops. Both of these synods were to act as preliminary councils of advice and quite obviously were called for the specific purpose of aiding the Roman Council which convened on Easter Tuesday, 27 March 680, in clarifying western theological opinion in anticipation of the Sixth General Council to be held in the following year at Constantinople.¹³⁴

132. Mansi, XI, 185; Hefele, b. 16, s. 313.

133. Bede, HE, IV, xvii.

134. Constantinople, 681. The Sixth Oecumenical Council of the Christian Church. Cf. Bright, EEC, 305; Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 141ff.

Thus it came about that Theodore's special synod at Hatfield assembled in September 679. Concerning the exact identification of the place of this synod, little can be said. Bright was of the opinion that it may have been the Clovesho which had been proposed at the Synod of Hertford in 672.¹³⁵ As to the date, we continue to follow the chronological reconstructions of the late Reginald Poole in preference to those of Haddan and Stubbs, Plummer, and Bright.¹³⁶

Already an apostolic delegate in the person of the Archchanter John had arrived from the Roman See.¹³⁷ Archbishop Theodore, presumably only too anxious

135. Bright, *REC*, 326.

136. Plummer, *VBHE*, IV, xviii, found it sufficient to follow Bede's statement that the council was convened in 680, the tenth year of King Egfrid. But again we must observe that September 680 is in the eleventh year from February 670. Furthermore, Bede was most precise in his dating of the acts of this council. He recorded that the resolutions were passed in the tenth year of Egfrid, the 15th of the Kalends of October, in the 8th Indiction, the sixth year of Ethelred, king of the Mercians, the 17th of Aldwulf, king of the East Anglians, and the 7th of Lothair, king of the Kentishmen. Note that Bede omits the year of Incarnation, waiting until his summary where he inserts it as the year 680. The eighth Indiction, however, was contained in the period from September 679 and 680. Clearly, if the Greek Indiction was used--and what other we may ask would the Greek Archbishop be more likely to favour?--the synod was held in 679. Cf. Poole, *SCH*, 44ff.

137. Bede, *HE*, IV, xviii.

to certify the essential orthodoxy of the Church in Britain on those questions of dogma which were troubling the ancient seats of Christendom, and perhaps, quite humanly prompted by a desire to prove himself once and for all in the eyes of the Roman See, now seized the opportunity to remove any doubt which might have lingered on as to his theological orthodoxy. Theodore, "alone among western ecclesiastics had seen the whole course of the Monothelite controversy in the East;"¹³⁸ now he would place both himself and his Church beyond any question in the ranks of orthodoxy. Unfortunately, in contrast to the record of Theodore's first synod, Bede this time omits the list of bishops and other clergy who were present. Clearly the emphasis of both archbishop and chronicler was upon the task of fixing the orthodoxy of the Church in England.¹³⁹

According to Theodore's own synodal letter which preserved for posterity an official record of the council and announced to all his clergy the decisions reached, he himself acted as presiding officer.¹⁴⁰ Fol-

138. Stenton, ASE, 137.

139. Cf. Appendix II.

140. Bede, HE, IV, xvii; "Praesidente Theodoro, gratia dei archiepiscopo Brittaniae insulae, et civitatis Duvuernis."

lowing the ancient custom of the Church, the books of the Holy Gospels were laid out before the assembled bishops. Then, we may assume, John the Precentor, acting in the capacity of apostolic delegate, was introduced and asked to explain the question which was troubling the ancient sees of Christendom. In doing so, he submitted the text of the decrees ratified by the Lateran Council of 649. These were to form a basis for study, discussion, and action. Somewhat verbose, yet tediously precise in definition, these decrees set forth the most recent authoritative understanding by the Western Church of the doctrine of the Incarnation as pronounced by the Chalcedonian Council.¹⁴¹ They expanded that symbol, however, by asserting two natural wills and two natural energies or operations, both divine and human, existing in the one Christ, who as God and man, possessed spheres of will and action corresponding to His two Natures--all this without destroying the indivisible unity of His one Person. In passing, it is also of interest to note that the third canon assumes the perpetual virginity of the

141. Eede, HE, IV, xviii. "Nam et synodum beati papae Martini, centum quinque episcoporum consensu non multo ante Romae celebratam...." Cf. Appendix III.

Blessed Virgin Mary. The decrees included a set of sixteen anathemas against various forms of Nestorianism, while twenty-six heretics were singled out by name for special anathemas. The dogmatic authority of the Five Oecumenical Councils was declared to be binding upon the Church.

The importance of these Lateran Canons of 649 as background material for our study is quickly grasped when we read in Bede's account that the Theodoran Synod of Hatfield placed itself on record affirming the orthodox faith,

just as our Lord Jesus Christ Incarnate delivered it to His own disciples; [and as] all holy universal synods and the entire company of authentic doctors of the catholic church have delivered it.¹⁴²

Later in his synodal letter, Theodore again specifically asserted that the synod of Hatfield "accepted the five holy and universal synods of the blessed fathers as acceptable to God."¹⁴³ He then listed each of them accord-

142. Bede, HE, IV, xvii. "Sicut Dominus noster Jesus Christus...incarnatus tradidit discipulis suis...atque sanctorum patrum tradidit symbolum, et generaliter omnes sancti et universales synodi, et omnis probabilium catholicae ecclesiae doctorum chorus."

143. Bede, HE, IV, xvii. "Suscepimus sanctas et universales quinque synodos beatorum et Deo acceptabilium patrum."

ing to date, place, and major topic of discussion. In addition to these five Oecumenical Councils, he persuaded the synod to include the canons of the Lateran Council of 649 as binding upon the Church in England.¹⁴⁴ Surely, from the standpoint of theological history, this was a momentous occasion for the English Church. Whether all the bishops present, and perhaps even Theodore himself, understood the full theological implications of this action cannot be determined. But certainly, the word of Theodore's synodal letter as preserved by Bede can leave no doubt in our minds of his clear intention to place the Church in England on the same theologically orthodox footing as the Church on the continent.¹⁴⁵

The late Canon Bright was quick to note that the English synodal letter contains what amounts to a filioque clause which implies acceptance by Theodore and his fellow bishops of the doctrine of Double Procession of the Holy Spirit.¹⁴⁶ Some have felt that the

144. Bede, HE, IV, xvii. "Et synodum quae facta est in urbe Roma, in tempore Martini papae beatissimi...suscepimus."

145. Bede, HE, IV, xvii. "quos susceperunt, suscipimus."

146. Bede, HE, IV, xvii. The actual phrase is "et Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter"

presence of this phrase could be explained by the leadership of a 'philosophical' archbishop of Byzantine background who could find no objection to such an addition to the Nicaeo-Constantinopolitan Creed.¹⁴⁷ Bright, however, was of the opinion that it could be explained by the presence of Hadrian who as an African might be expected to prefer the theological terminology of Saint Augustine of Hippo, and the tradition which already had been established for its use by five Spanish Councils at Toledo.¹⁴⁸ The present writer feels that it is just as likely that John, the papal legate, somewhat presumptuously anticipating Roman opinion which within a few decades was to crystalize in favour of the doctrine, suggested the inclusion of the phrase. Granting the familiarity of both Hadrian and Theodore with the established tradition in North Africa and Spain, it may be supposed that in their enthusiasm to uphold the doctrines which the rest of the Church professed saw no reason to object to the phrase as an interpretation of the statement in

147. SWETE, The Doctrine of Procession, 190.

148. Bright, EEC, 329; Mansi, IX, 978, 982, 985; X, 615, 662, 1210; XI, 133.

the Creed. Whatever the explanation, there the phrase stands, without comment, without any recorded discussion, and undeniably links the Church in Britain with what was to become in later decades a further bone of contention between East and West. Evidence is too scanty, however, either to describe Theodore's own discussion of the theological problems raised at this synod or to place any evaluation upon Theodore himself as a dogmatic theologian. The most that can be predicated is that with the possible exception of the doctrine of Double Procession he demonstrated his official position as an impeccably resolute defender of the orthodox faith.

Notably absent or at least unmentioned was Bishop Wilfrid of York who (as we noted above) was again giving Northumbria, Archbishop Theodore, and the Roman Council so much trouble. Without any reference to Wilfrid's quarrel, but armed with an official transcript of the English Church's theological position, the papal legate was sent on his return journey to Rome.¹⁴⁹ He himself never reached the Eternal City but the cer-

149. Bede, HE, IV, xviii. "Datumque illi exemplar eius Romam perferendum."

tified copy of the proceedings was forwarded to Pope Agatho who received it with great satisfaction,¹⁵⁰ placed it with the statement he had received from the synod of Milan and the resolution which his own synod at Rome had passed and presently dispatched this unanimous testimony of the Western Church to Constantinople. The record states that Pope Agatho waited long before sending his delegation to the East.¹⁵¹ Admittedly, he had hoped that Archbishop Theodore himself would join in the synod at Rome and perhaps even accept membership in the official delegation to Constantinople. However, "either pressing business in England detained him, or he doubted his ability to act as champion of the Latins," and Pope Agatho had to be satisfied with the certified statement of the English bishops and the personal testimony of Bishop Wilfrid who was still in Rome appealing his case against the King of Northumbria.¹⁵²

We might simply observe that when the Roman delegates reached Constantinople, they discovered that

150. Bede, HE, IV, xviii. "Exemplum catholicae fidei Anglorum Romam perlatum est, atque ab apostolico papa omnibusque qui audire vel legere, gratantissime susceptum."

151. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 140.

152. Every, BP, 78f.

a new Patriarch occupied the see of the Eastern capitol. A somewhat more sympathetic figure than his predecessor, he almost immediately restored the late Pope Vitalian's name to the diptychs. Within a comparatively short space of time, the West was once more at peace with the East. However, it is to be noted that

when in the hour of their victory they adopted the Greek custom of singing the creed of Constantinople and Chalcedon at Mass, they brought the two creeds into apparent harmony by inserting from the Western "Athanasian" symbol the Latin word filioque into the Eastern Nicene creed at the point of the procession of the Holy Ghost.¹⁵³

The unexplained action of the Synod of Hatfield relative to the filioque clause was soon ratified by the common practice of the entire Western Church.¹⁵⁴ By a few simple but positive synodal acts, Archbishop Theodore had brought the Church in England into the main stream of faith and order common to the Western Church. Coming from a native Eastern Churchman, this constitutes a most remarkable demonstration of loyalty to his Roman archiepiscopal commission.

153. Every, BP, 87.

154. Howorth, GAEC, I, lxvii, notes the occurrence of a Mass of the Holy Ghost, which suggests that the discussion of the question was more widespread than the absence of mention in Bede would indicate.

10. Relations With The Roman See.

The relations pursued between the Church in England and the Roman See remained upon an experimental basis through the period of Archbishop Theodore's primacy. To be sure, he himself had received his appointment as archbishop, along with his episcopal consecration, at the hands of Pope Vitalian. His less illustrious predecessor, Augustine of Canterbury, had likewise been a papal appointment, yet he only could claim his episcopal consecration from the Church in Gaul. During the succeeding years and indeed during the first decade of Archbishop Theodore's own episcopate, intercourse between the Roman See and the ecclesiastical institutions of Great Britain had been on the increase. In his early life, Wilfrid of York had made a special religious pilgrimage to Rome, while such enthusiasts of learning and monastic discipline as Benedict Biscop had already made several journeys to and from the Eternal City.¹⁵⁵ Wilfrid's biographer, Eddius Stephanus, suggested that the Northumbrian bishop also possessed a knowledge of Roman canon law, while Theodore's famous student, Aldhelm, did not hesitate to call

155. Bede, HE, V, xix; VSAM, 3, etc.

attention to his legal learning by clear references to the subject in one of his highly-stylized letters.¹⁵⁶

The Theodoran Penitential, of course, indicates the increasing familiarity of the Church in Britain with canon law and the formal desire to bring its obviously Celtic and Eastern elements and general confessional discipline within the framework of the law of the Latin Church.¹⁵⁷

One rather isolated record of a Roman council of bishops indicates that Archbishop Theodore's attempts to reorganize the entire British province in terms of the division of dioceses and the increase of the episcopate did not pass without some opposition.¹⁵⁸ We have already suggested that the deposition of Winfrid may have resulted from such a failure in episcopal co-operation. Whatever the facts behind this document, it is clear that the problem of reorganization in the British province had been deemed of sufficient importance to occupy a formal council of episcopal minds at Rome.

As we have just observed in our discussion

156. Eddius VW, 43; Aldhelm, Ep. 4.

157. Oakley, EPD, 18ff, 26ff, 75-85. Cf. also J. M. KEMP, Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici, CD, I, viii.

158. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 136-135; Stenton, ASE, 136f.

of the background of the Synod of Hatfield, Pope Agatho had requested preparatory episcopal synods in both Milan, Britain, and Rome that the theological opinion of the Western episcopate might be welded into a persuasive statement of sound doctrine for the forthcoming General Council at Constantinople. To elicit the co-operation of the Church in Britain, the Archchanter John, formerly Abbot of St. Martin's, Rome, had been dispatched to present the problem before Archbishop Theodore and his bishops.¹⁵⁹ While in Britain, John had likewise contributed of his time and knowledge to the improvement of church music in the monastic foundations led by Benedict Biscop.¹⁶⁰ His contributions to Biscop's monasteries included a number of very valuable manuscripts.

Probably the most disputable series of contacts with Rome were those initiated by Bishop Wilfrid when he appealed his ejection from the Northumbrian see to a court of bishops sitting under the presidency of the Pope. Whatever this action may indicate as to Wilfrid

159. Bede, HE, IV, xviii.

160. Bede, VSAM, 6.

personally, we observe that it constituted the first recorded appeal from a British ecclesiastic to the Roman See. That Wilfrid remained at Rome for some months after his case had been heard and acted as an unofficial witness to the orthodoxy of the English Church is quite beside the point.¹⁶¹ This may have been a clear act of presumption or his testimony may have been contributed as a matter of course at the invitation of Pope Agatho who was obviously collecting as many episcopal signatures as possible for presentation at Constantinople. The important point is simply that Wilfrid had presumed to appeal his case beyond the civil courts of Northumbria, in which he admittedly stood no chance of acquittal, and over the ecclesiastical authority of Archbishop Theodore. From our reading of the pertinent documents, we would suggest that although Wilfrid received a partial victory in the form of recognition of his rights, the mere fact that he had presumed to go over the head of his own provincial superior at Canterbury was a matter of some embarrassment to the bishops of the Roman court which in the end reached a more or less compromise decision. That they made the

161. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 141; Eddius, VW, 51.

most of the precedent which Wilfrid offered, however, cannot be denied.¹⁶² Relations of friendship and respect had prevailed for some years between the Churches of Britain and those of the continent:--this, in spite of the earlier difficulties between the Celtic and Roman discipline. Yet, whatever had inspired these relationships, it seems fair to conclude with the late Canon Bright that against such a background, clergy and laity in Britain

had not, as a body...any clear notion that gratitude or reverence would bind them to recognize a systematic interference on Rome's part in their domestic Church matters, by virtue of which any national Church decision might at any time be nullified by a court of appeal sitting beyond the Alps.¹⁶³

That Archbishop Theodore fostered a relationship of friendship and respect for the See to which he owed his appointment cannot be denied; that he tacitly ignored the preposterous presumptions of the Roman Court to re-instate Wilfrid and thus over-rule him in the administration of Britain's increasingly national Church can give no comfort to the enthusiast of ultramontane authority.

162. Eddius, VW, 29-31. Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 136-140.

163. Bright, EEC, 296. Cf. also Stubbs, CH, I, 246, 280.

11. The Extension of the Church.

During the second decade of Theodore's primacy, the practical problem of Church extension had to be faced. Until now, the Archbishop had been content to fill bishoprics as they fell vacant and to rest his case upon the tentative resolution of his first synod at Hertford. Now, however, the time for advance had come. Already he had taken advantage of Wilfrid's second expulsion to divide the huge Northumbrian see. But more than this, he felt it would be wise to appoint several bishops for more distant tribes which were prepared to receive such episcopal ministrations. Accordingly, while on an additional tour of Northumbria (The settlement of Bishop Wilfrid's huge jurisdiction continued to require his attention.), Theodore summoned an ad hoc synod and consecrated two bishops in the place of Wilfrid: Bosa as bishop of Deira with his see at York, and Eata as bishop of the Bernicians with his see at Hexham or Lindisfarne. In addition to these, Eadhed was consecrated bishop of Lindsey. According to Bede, these consecrations took place at York, although Eddius suggests that the other bishops declined to join in the consecra-

tion service.¹⁶⁴

In the meantime, Bishop Wilfrid had returned from Rome, apparently quite happy over his partial victory. That he was not only refused re-instatement by King Egfrid but imprisoned for some months and then released to wander around the southern coast of England and the Isle of Wight, we have already noted. Settlement of Wilfrid's problems in Northumbria were quite out of the question at this time. Accordingly, Archbishop Theodore seems to have ignored completely the order of the Roman court for Wilfrid's re-instatement, the appointment of certain new bishops with Wilfrid's consent, and the anathemas which they had specified for any who refused to obey its order for a just settlement.

Approximately three years after Wilfrid's second expulsion, Archbishop Theodore again increased the Northumbrian episcopate by consecrating Tunbert for the see of Hexham (Bishop Eata now being permitted to confine his activities to Lindisfarne), and Trumwine for the province of the Redshanks with his see at Abercorn. At approximately the same time, the province of Lindsey

164. Bede, HE, IV, xii; Eddius, VW, 24, 30.

having been recovered by Ethelred, Bishop Eadhed was set over the church at Ripon. Later, a special synod was held at a place called Aduifyrdi or Twyford, in the presence of King Egfrid but under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore. There, the devout and highly respected Cuthbert was unanimously elected bishop of the church at Lindisfarne in succession to Eata who was translated back to Hexham. Cuthbert's consecration was postponed until the following Easter when the service was held in York at the hands of seven bishops. This was to be the last recorded act of Archbishop Theodore in Northumbria. Several months afterwards, the expansion of the Church beyond the Firth of Forth received a severe set-back and Bishop Trumwine who had organised his work around a small monastery at Abercorn was forced to withdraw to Lindisfarne. That his few years as bishop of Abercorn had not been wasted completely is suggested by the monumental remains of the Abercorn, Aberlady, Ruthwell, and Bewcastle crosses, each of which betrays the presence of a tradition of Syro-Byzantine workmanship which in the opinion of experts in ancient sculpture may reasonably be attributed to Archbishop Theodore's expansion

of the Church into this general area.¹⁶⁵ Perhaps, as one scholar suggests, Theodore gave refuge to political or religious refugees from the east who returned the favour by teaching the Byzantine style and sculptural technique to Churchmen in Britain. Short-lived though Bishop Trumwine's episcopate may have been, the repulse from the north failed to erase these few indelible but suggestive marks of a fertile foreign culture.

12. Heterodox Practices.

The continued presence in Britain of independent Celtic traditions of churchmanship during the archiepiscopate of a man who as a native of Tarsus had spent over three-score years within the jurisdiction of Byzantine Christianity would normally lead us to suspect that the faith and practice of the Church in Britain might reflect certain Celtic and Byzantine peculiarities. Up to this point, however, with the exception of one or two minor items, it has been clear that Archbishop Theodore maintained an amazing loyalty to the see which granted him his original commission.

165. Brown, *AME*, V, 102-317; Clapham, *ERA*, 62-69; Cf. Stenton, *ASE*, 138, 146, 150; Bede, *HE*, IV, xxvi.

Yet in one respect, at least, Archbishop Theodore did not hesitate to follow certain of the precepts of the Church of his youth. Whether he did this purposely after observing the primitive character of the tribal life of the island of Britain or because of a partiality to his eastern background cannot be determined. It is clear, nonetheless, from the text of the Penitential that Theodore permitted a handling of marriage and divorce based upon a series of principles quite foreign to the common mind of the Western Church.

To be sure, the tenth canon of the Synod of Hertford, records Theodore's expressed wish to maintain the evangelical ideal of marriage. But the series of special penances to be exercised in the cases of married persons seems to constitute irrefutable evidence that Theodore eventually allowed himself to be influenced in these matters by the earlier experiments of the Eastern Churches. Bigamy, for example, always of some concern in the Church of the East, was singled out as deserving of a one year's sentence to be observed by extraordinary acts of penance on Wednesday and Friday of each week and complete abstinence from meat during three Lents.¹⁶⁶ A

166. Pen. I,xiv,2. Cf. the discussion in Oscar D. WATKINS, Holy Matrimony, HM, 128,377ff., 415ff.

third marriage was found to deserve the same penance, which apparently was based upon the relaxing opinion of Saint Basil whose judgement was at times considerably less stringent than exemplified in one of the authorized Western canons which required a penance of four years.¹⁶⁷ Questions of marital infidelity, desertion, reconciliation, the second marriage of an innocent party are all treated with a laxity which is anomalous for the Latin Church.¹⁶⁸ Local conditions, the instability of a society in which the capture of women during inter-tribal warfare was not uncommon were the cause of at least one of these regulations which governed the recovery of a wife taken in captivity and the permission to marry in case the wife was not recoverable.¹⁶⁹ The inclusion, in the midst of a discussion of marriage vows of a canon referring to secular clerics seems to indicate that secular clergy were not under the same vow of celibacy as was presumably required of the religious. Thus it seems to be quite clear that there were occasions when Archbishop

167. Pen. I,xiv,3.

168. Pen. I,xiv,4,9,13. Cf. also II,xii,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,etc..

169. Pen. II,xii,8,20-24.

Theodore did not hesitate to quote the divergent disciplinary regulations of the Eastern Church if a case in question might be more wisely and perhaps mercifully handled. In these instances, it appears that the Greek archbishop was a man of genuine magnanimity, sound common sense, and fully acquainted with the facts of an amoral and immoral society. His concern seems to have been directed toward a type of discipline which while upholding the ideals of the Christian Evangel still permitted a reasonable attempt to live the Christian life in a very sinful age.

13. The Lord's Day and Holy Days.

It was likewise during the archiepiscopate of Theodore that certain well-recognized days of the year were officially authorized as deserving of special observance by all Christians. The Lord's Day, for example, was regulated by several special canons. In these instances, the examples of Greek and Roman Christians are quoted as forming a reasonable guide for Christian practice in Britain.¹⁷⁰ Sailing and the riding of horses were generally omitted although such work as the

170. Pen. II, viii, 1, 2, 3.

baking of bread, bathing, riding in vehicles (except to Church), writing in public by which may be meant the execution of business documents, etc., were avoided. Slaves, however, were not granted the privilege of a Sunday's rest. Generally speaking, Christians were expected to desist from labour on the Lord's Day.¹⁷¹ Twelve three-day fasts were required annually of the sick, and of servants whether male or female.¹⁷² These three fasts we may assume were relaxations of the three major forty-day fasts of obligation which an additional canon enumerates as falling at Easter, Advent, and Pentecost.¹⁷³ Special fasts for the dead were apparently undertaken but were discouraged as of no help to the dead, while an earlier series of canons is quite clear to note that the keeping of the Lord's Day as a day of religious festival is as important as the observances of days of fasting.¹⁷⁴ The breaking of fastdays in contempt of the calendar of the Church was regarded as a very serious breach of dis-

171. Pen. I,xi,1. Cf. Canon 14 of Clovesho, Haddan and Stubbs, CED,III; Canon XIV,3, of the proposed Canon Law of the Church of England.

172. Pen. I,vii,5.

173. Pen. II,xiv,1.

174. Pen. II,xiv,2.

cipline.¹⁷⁵ Joy in the Lord's Day of Resurrection was to be maintained as an important mark of consistent Christian living.

14. Ecclesiastical Property.

Aside from the numerous references in Bede to the work of Archbishop Theodore and the testimony of the Theodoran Penitential, contemporary documents have contributed relatively little to our understanding of Theodore of Tarsus in the role of provincial administrator. It is when we begin to investigate cartulary evidence of ecclesiastical property rights, however, that we find a somewhat more convincing, if still meagre, body of documents. Like all the documents of this period, cartulary letters and charters must be read with a critical eye. And yet, it is highly significant that the oldest and most unquestionably authentic English charters derive from the period represented by the second decade of Theodore's primacy.¹⁷⁶ These official charters which were a development of the earlier private charters employed in

175. Pen. I, xi, 1, 2, 3, 4.

176. Cf. W. deG. BIRCH, Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History, CS, 45; and Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum, I, 1. The oldest English charter thus preserved is in a text dated May 679.

the latter years of the Roman Empire, record gifts of land and accompanying property rights to religious foundations which were inaugurated during Theodore's administration.¹⁷⁷ For the years just prior to these, that is, the period from Laurentius to Theodore, there remain no authentic charters, while the earliest period, represented by Augustine's episcopate, is only enlightened by charters which are of a Frankish origin. Thus, although the evidence for the granting of charters during the period of Theodore's primacy is of a circumstantial character, the larger numbers of authentic charters dating from the last decades of the seventh century would seem to indicate that Theodore himself may have initiated the practice of confirming gifts of property by formal deeds, officially attested. Such charter deeds were, perhaps, not much more than mere notices or entries inscribed on the pages of gospel books, antiphonaries, lectionaries, and other sacred volumes.¹⁷⁸ At any rate, the practice had been started and all the signs point to the days of Archbishop Theodore. A list of such charters, some spurious,

177. Stenton, ASE, 141; W. H. STEVENSON, English Historical Review, xxix, 695.

178. Deanesly, Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., xxi, 53-68.

many genuine, may be found in Birch's great collection of Saxon Charters.¹⁷⁹ Their number for the last decade of Theodore's life plus an equal number for the decade following constitutes a rather solid testimony to the origins of formal legal property rights at this period.

The testimony of the Theodoran Penitential is of a somewhat different sort although it clearly implies the recognition of the Church's right to own and administer property for religious purposes. In the large, the Theodoran canons mainly have to do with ceremonial procedure to be undertaken when moving a church from one place to another, when rebuilding an edifice which had been partially destroyed, or which required enlargement.¹⁸⁰ Other canons regulated the burial of bodies within a consecrated church.¹⁸¹ Presumably hallowed burial was to be granted only to persons who had died in the Christian Faith. Two other canons specify that only two Masses may be said at the same altar on one day while the construction of steps before an altar is strictly forbidden.¹⁸²

179. Birch, CS, 42.

180. Pen. II, i, 1, 3, 11.

181. Pen. II, i, 4, 5.

182. Pen. II, i, 2, 6.

Clearly there was a growing feeling in a once-thoroughly pagan nation that edifices dedicated to Christian worship required a special care and reverence from both clergy and laity.

15. Monastic Regulations.

Somewhat more complicated were the regulations governing the establishment and conduct of monastic institutions. The Canons of Hertford, ratified at Theodore's first episcopal synod took care to specify that monks were not to move about from one jurisdiction to another without permission of their abbots and respective bishops. The right of religious orders to hold property was likewise protected by a canon forbidding the unlawful deprivation of such property.¹⁸³ Beyond this, there is the series of very remarkable charters, dating back to the final decade of Theodore's primacy, which we have just described under the more general heading of ecclesiastical property.

That monastic life was not only fostered but enthusiastically encouraged seems to be clearly sug-

183. Hertford Canons, 2,3. See Appendix I.

gested by the numerous references both in these charters and in Bede's history to the various monasteries or minsters founded during this period.¹⁸⁴ Among these were the famous St. Peter's (St. Augustine's) at Canterbury, Benedict Biscop's notable foundations at Wearmouth and Jarrow, St. Ebba's near Coldingham, Malmesbury of which Aldhelm was for some time abbot, Reculver, one of the earliest estates deeded over to the clergy, Ely, Lindisfarne, which was reorganised by monks from the south during this period, St. Peter's, Gloucester, and the famous Glastonbury. That Theodore himself contributed to such a development seems undeniable although it is doubtful that he was able to participate in the actual monastic movement personally. He himself had spent his early life as a monk and upon coming to Britain as Archbishop of Canterbury had been accompanied by the learned Abbot Hadrian. From the evidence already brought forward, it seems clear that Theodore's policy was to encourage the work of others--men such as both Hadrian and Benedict Biscop in the work of founding religious houses--rather

184. Bright, EEC, 247, 260-263, 266ff., 275, 321, 334. Bede, VSAM, 3, 4; HE, V, xviii; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 669; Bede, HE, IV, xix; Thomas of Ely, 15; Bede, HE, IV, xxviii; Monasti. Angl., I, 531; Hist. Mon. Glouc. I, xiii, lxxii. (ed. Hart); Malmesbury: Gest. Reg. I, 20.

than to monopolize this phase of the work himself. That the foundations supervised by Biscop and Hadrian were characterized by a remarkable degree of classical and religious learning is to the everlasting credit of both Theodore and his two assistants.

It would be quite presumptuous, however, to claim for this monastic development a clearly defined organisation and discipline founded on the basis of the later highly-reputed Benedictine Order.¹⁸⁵ Such a formal organisation, strictly governed by a rule of diurnal worship, and vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, was the work of later Churchmen, of whom Bishop Wilfrid, during the years following Theodore's death, was certainly one representative. Regulations for the religious as contained in the Theodoran Penitential mainly concern penances to be assigned for moral infractions committed by individual monks. One entire section in the second book, however, is given over to the government of a monastery by its abbot, conditions governing his election and resignation, the taking of vows, transfer of monastic property, while another entire section is devoted to

185. Cf. our earlier discussion: Chapters I, III.

conditions governing the celebration of requiem Masses for deceased members of a community. An additional note in one rather isolated canon suggests that certain of the more wealthy religious houses of the period, following the Roman custom, possessed slaves,¹⁸⁶ while a charter dated 689 deeds an iron mine from King Oswy of Kent over to Abbot Hadrian of the Monastery of St. Peter at Canterbury.¹⁸⁷ Although separated from the world of internecine strife and capitalistic bargaining, the religious foundations apparently had no qualms of conscience relative to the ownership of slaves or the operation of mines! One canon is of special interest in that it reveals that while Archbishop Theodore did not encourage double monastic houses (i.e. men and women), he declined to abolish what was already the custom of the country. From this statement, we may gather that while no further double monasteries were licensed, those already in existence were perhaps permitted to continue.¹⁸⁸ Monks, even if in priest's orders, were presumably forbidden to hear confessions and assign penances. This, according to the

186. Pen. II, ix, 4.

187. Birch, CS, no. 73, p. 107.

188. Pen. II, vi, 8. "Non licet viris feminas habere monachus neque feminis viros; tamen nos non destruamus illud quod consuetudo est in hac terra."

writer, was the proper duty of only the secular clergy.^{B9}

In short, it cannot be denied that the religious foundations of the late seventh century exercised an important role in the evangelisation of Britain and in the establishment of a clearly-defined institutional form of the Christian Faith. Patrons of learning, in some cases the repositories of valuable libraries brought from older and wealthier churches on the continent, in other instances the cathedral see and centre of evangelisation for a missionary bishop, the monks and their minsters must not be underestimated as constituting one of the characteristic developments sponsored by Archbishop Theodore and his associates.

16. Heresy.

The student of the early history of the Christian Church does not need to be reminded of the serious view which was taken on the denial of the Faith and as a corollary of this breach which was regarded by many of the early Fathers as within the category of mortal sin, the seriousness with which the essential articles of the

189. Pen. II,vi,16. "Nec non libertas monasterii est penitentiam secularibus iudicandam, quia proprie clericorum est."

Faith were defended. Indeed, as measured by the numerous councils, provincial synods, and oecumenical assemblies of bishops called to deal with the problem of heresy, the student may well regard the history of the early Church as a history of dogmatic definition and defense. In our discussion of the Synod of Hatfield which Archbishop Theodore convened at the request of the Bishop of Rome in anticipation of the forthcoming oecumenical Council at Constantinople, we noted the clear-cut, positive affirmation by Theodore and his bishops of their loyalty to the dogmatic assertions of the Church Catholic as then defined by the first five General Councils and the Lateran Council of 649. Now we wish to discover whether that affirmation can be regarded as an accurate measure of orthodoxy in the Church in Britain during the years of Theodore's administration. If heresy there were, certainly there should be some signs of its rise and suppression.

To be sure, an entire section of the Penitential is devoted to the setting forth of regulations to suppress heresy.¹⁹⁰ And yet, upon examination

190. Pen. I,v.

of these canons, we discover that the heresy discussed is not basically theological error but association with heretical persons or churches. Because of a failure to assent to the ecclesiastical discipline of the Roman See, clergy and members of such churches must be held suspect of heresy. In general then, these canons were enacted to suppress continued collaboration with the recalcitrant Celtic Churchmen who several decades after the Synod of Whitby still failed to comply with the agreement reached, at that time. Baptism and ordination at the hands of such persons was considered null and void and fresh administration of these sacraments was required at the hands of the Catholic clergy.¹⁹¹ And yet certain distinctions were made: While the general rule required reordination of a Celtic ordinand, reordination was only to be granted if he underwent his first ordination in ignorance. Open flaunting of Catholic discipline in this respect simply brought deposition with no opportunity for a valid ordination. Prayer with persons outside the fold of the Roman

191. Haddan and Stubbs, *CEED*, III, 367, Clovesho canon 13; Pen. I, v, 6.

discipline was likewise forbidden, although infraction of this rule was only subject to the light discipline of a seven-day penance for a first offense; forty days, if the penance was disregarded as negligible.¹⁹² On the other hand the question of rebaptism was decided on the ground of the heretic minister's belief in the Holy Trinity. The implication seems to have been that a person unorthodox in his belief concerning the Holy Trinity could not be trusted to combine the form and matter required for a valid sacrament.¹⁹³ The reception of Holy Communion from the hands of a heretic was condemned; while a heretic priest was forbidden to celebrate Mass in a Catholic Church.¹⁹⁴ Celebration of Mass in the interest of deceased heretics and, in particular the inclusion of their names with the generally accepted names on the diptychs brought a definite, if moderate, penance to the offending clergyman.¹⁹⁵ In short, the discussion of heresy indicated by the Theodoran Penitential pertains

192. Pen. II,v,4.

193. Pen. I,v,6.

194. Pen. I,v,7,8,9.

195. Pen. I,v,11,12,13.

to the heresy of schism and only indirectly touches upon the dogma of the Church. In only three instances is the matter of theological orthodoxy even suggested and then it is in the single reference to an orthodox assent to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and two references to the disciplinary authority of the Nicene Council.¹⁹⁶

Thus, we may conclude that once the dogmatic orthodoxy of the Church in Britain had been placed on record at the Synod of Hatfield, no further serious questions of theology disturbed the peace of the Church. The evidence extant would suggest that the Theodoran Age was not an era of exceptional theological productivity.

17. Loyalty to the Archiepiscopal Commission.

We may assume that the papal commission of the monk Theodore as Archbishop of Canterbury had implied two major tasks: (1) the propagation of the orthodox Faith, and (2) the establishment of Catholic Order. As we approach the end of our discussion of Theodore in the role of provincial administrator, what may we say of his loyalty to this commission? Concerning the propagation of the Faith, we have observed that on two occasions,

196. Pen. I,v,3,6,14.

at least, Theodore placed the Church in Britain within the ranks of Western Orthodoxy. One minor exception was noted: the insertion of a phrase implying the doctrine of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit, but this cannot be regarded as a serious error since it was soon approved by the general practice of the Western Church. In the exercise of provincial discipline--at least as witnessed by the Penitential--, we observed an anomalous license in the application of the marriage discipline. No explanation was given of these unusual canons but there is no question but that the Church in Britain was at variance with the Church of Rome in its interpretation and application of the Gospel teaching on the indissolubility of marriage. Yet this difference was due as much to ecclesiastical economy as it was to strict theological principle.

In the extension of Church Order and the provincial organisation of the Church in Britain, we have observed that Theodore ruled with a firm and in some ways a tyrannous hand. Excessively large dioceses were subdivided; extra bishops were consecrated; those holding questionable orders were reordained after vowing allegiance to the Roman discipline; at least one bishop was

deposed for insubordination. In the famous expulsion of Bishop Wilfrid of York, Theodore chose to ignore the impracticable orders of the Roman Council relative to Wilfrid's re-instatement. Yet, we noted that this was the only thing he could have done under the circumstances. As a result of his policy of co-operation with the civil authority, Theodore had succeeded in a simultaneous propagation of both the Faith and Order of the Church and a national province which had been practically devoid of manpower upon his arrival found itself with approximately sixteen episcopal sees at the height of his primacy.¹⁹⁷ With certain notable exceptions, Archbishop Theodore had more than fulfilled the primatial commission which he had received from the hands of Pope Vitalian in 668. That Pope Gregory's plan for two archdioceses was forgotten temporarily is indeed notable. Whether by Papal order or reluctant permission, Theodore reigned supreme as sole primate of the whole Church in England.

197. Cf. the lists provided by King in Bede, HE, vol. II, 495-497; Hill, ED, 152f. The sees included Canterbury, Rochester, London, York, Dunwich, Lindisfarne, Dorchester, Winchester, Lichfield, Elmham, Hereford, Hexham, Lindsey, Worcester, Leicester, Abercorn, Selsey.

Lest any critic would suggest that Theodore did not attempt to do his best for the unfortunate Wilfrid, we would recall that, once tempers had cooled, the Archbishop himself arranged a meeting with Bishop Wilfrid at London and there the two famous ecclesiastics were reconciled.¹⁹⁸ The aged Archbishop promised to do his best to obtain Wilfrid's restoration to his original jurisdiction of Hexham while presumably he laid aside the specific terms of the Roman court's decree. As a result of several letters which Theodore wrote to the civil authorities of Northumbria, Wilfrid was allowed to return to Hexham. Any further restoration of the wider jurisdiction which he had held previously was to be dependent upon circumstances and the extent to which Wilfrid succeeded in ingratiating himself with his civil constituents. According to Eddius, Theodore even went so far as to suggest that Wilfrid might succeed him at Canterbury. However true the latter presumption may be, it is clear that both bishops were reasonably satisfied by the settlement whatever its exact details. Once more, concord reigned throughout the vast jurisdiction of the Church in Britain and the venerable Archbishop could finish his remaining days in peace and with the deep satisfaction that a great mission had been achieved during his two decades in the English Church.

198. Colgrave, VW, sec. 43, 44.

CHAPTER FIVE

PASTOR IN PAROCHIA

1. Judex Episcopalis.

The information which we shall presently apply to Archbishop Theodore in the role of parochial pastor permits a somewhat more personal approach to those aspects of Theodore's primacy which, in the previous chapter, we considered in terms of provincial administration. In that chapter, we were able to fit our evidence into a generally consistent chronological pattern covering approximately two decades of provincial activity; it is now necessary for us to break completely with any idea of historical sequence since the four topics which we wish to treat under the present heading are based upon material which at best can be regarded as circumstantial evidence of Archbishop Theodore's more personal dealings with people. However, it still must be kept in mind that the seventh-century bishop, and Theodore in particular by reason of his primatial responsibilities, was at times more of an episcopal judge than a kindly Father-in-God. The familial foundation which made possible the development of a clerical training school in which the bishop himself often gave instruction also lent itself to employment by the civil

authorities, or at least to co-operation with them, in the maintenance of the peace of a tribal community.¹ Already, we have noted that the bishop was granted the right to levy disciplinary fines provided they did not exceed a stated maximum figure.² Again, we observe that an alternative to fines was the surrender of arms. This must have constituted a most grievous punishment on the average male member of a seventh-century tribal community.³ Perhaps even more common was the use of the bishop (and even of other clergy) for the attesting of oaths. In the course of time, this gave rise to a series of regulations with regard to perjury.⁴ Rather naive, these regulations reveal a mixture of genuine religious fear and sheer superstition. Oaths, for example, could be attested by placing one's hands in those of a clergyman, swearing by an altar, or by swearing on a cross, whether consecrated or unconsecrated. An

1. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 128-133.

2. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 220 ; Pen. II, 11, 4.

3. Pen. I, iv, 4; Another penitential option included the taking of vows and entering a monastery. I, vii, 1.

4. Pen. I, vi, 4.

unblessed cross, however, did not carry the same legal obligation for an oath as one which had been properly consecrated! Such is the suggestive testimony of the several passages in the Theodoran Penitential which attempt to legislate the exercise of a penitential discipline upon the broader level of the civil community. Did Théodore, we wonder, encourage these arrangements, especially the use of altars and crosses for the attesting of a man's oath? No categorical answer can be given. We suggest, however, that such practices are hardly inconsistent with what was already common custom whether in the Churches of the East or those of the West. Moreover, it might be observed that when a distinction was made between the use of a consecrated and and unconsecrated cross, this was really a serious attempt to prevent articles of "external religion" (which were held to be of an especially sanctified nature when used within the context of liturgical worship) from being employed in an uncommon, secular fashion. In other words, the evidence of the Penitential may be interpreted as being as much a discouragement of such activity as it is a faithful witness to the necessity of regulations for attesting the legality of a man's oath. More

than this we would hesitate to say. But at least our evidence, limited as it may be, is indisputable testimony of the bishop's role in the ecclesiastical courts of a tribal community and is very suggestive of the extent to which penitential and civil discipline were intertwined.⁵

2. Exercise of Penitential Discipline.

The matters which we have just discussed are still upon the wider base of the provincial administrator who was called upon to lend his assistance in the maintenance of the law of the civil structure. It is in the actual exercise of the penitential discipline, however, that we have opportunity to examine the more pastoral approach which a bishop such as Theodore was often called upon to reveal. One of the most significant remarks in the entire Penitential declares that no public penance was required in Britain--this alongside a group of canons which betray (at least in part) the use of certain techniques for the public administration of penance!⁶ In other words, the time-honoured practice

5. Jolliffe, CHME, 1-55.

6. Pen. I, xiii, 4; Watkins, HOP, II, 647. Cf. Mortimer, OPP.

of the early Church which maintained a somewhat complicated system of public-congregational confession, episcopally-assigned penance, and a graduated routine of steps toward restoration, ending in a special service of readmission to the full communion of the Fellowship at the hands of the bishop, was being adapted to a private system of auricular confession with penance which would better suit some of the indigenous traditions of Celtic Christianity. It is this obvious adaptation of the seventh-century continental Church to the situation in the island of Britain which permits us to discover something of what Theodore's own approach to these problems must have been on the local pastoral level.

Our second observation confirms an earlier impression that Archbishop Theodore was not only a masterful administrator and executive of wide experience but that he gave proof of his broad and kindly sympathy by his personal dealings with people. Certainly if any portions of the Penitential can claim the direct inspiration of Theodore of Tarsus, those many passages which record his comparisons of Greek and Roman discipline must be among them. In at least twelve different canons, such comparisons of Greek and Roman practices

are recorded.⁷ The implication, we submit, is simply that although Archbishop Theodore, remembering his apostolic commission from the Roman See, officially endorsed the position of the Roman Church, he himself was quite willing to countenance Greek disciplinary practices alongside the official Roman use. If it be thought that we have drawn too broad an inference here, we would only modify our claim by insisting that these passages, at the very least, testify to partial use of Greek disciplinary principles during the primacy of Theodore. As such they indicate the presence in Britain of a body of clergy who represented differing traditions of instruction in these matters and a willingness on the part of their ordinary to permit a diversity of practice on the local level as a matter of ecclesiastical accommodation and economy. By implication, they also show the respect with which Archbishop Theodore had come to regard the ancient traditions of the indigenous Celtic Christians and of his willingness to tolerate certain variations in local practice provided there was agreement on the larger items of Roman order and

7. Pen. I, ix, 12a; xi, 1, 2; xii, 1; II, viii, 1-8.

orthodox Faith. That these variations undoubtedly caused some question in the minds of many a Churchman would seem to be proved by one entire section and parts of three others being given over to an explanation of the two divergent schools of discipline. Yet, the distinctive anomaly of Greek principle in a penitential for the use of the Church in Britain remains.

But just what, we may ask, was implied by the statement that "public reconciliation was not required by statute in the British provinces?" What, for example, was the usual procedure during Theodore's primacy? We present the following reconstruction.

Auricular confession was not an absolute requirement for a communicant: "Confession to God alone" was permissible if necessary.⁸ In other words, before making his communion, the average Churchman was allowed to feel that adequate preparation could be achieved by confession to God alone in the private^{cy} of his own heart. But in addition to this, notorious breaches of the Christian moral code were normally dealt with by means of auricular confession which was probably encouraged anyway at the great festivals of

8. N.B. that the text of the Pen. I, xiii, 4, indicates that "if necessary" is not found in all versions of the manual.

the Christian Year.⁹ Under these circumstances, the sinner went to his priest or bishop and made his confession. Absolution, in God's name, was pronounced and a penance was assigned as a propaedeutic to future good behaviour and sometimes as a clear matter of restitution. For the more serious offenses, the penance required some months, or possibly several years, for completion. In such cases, the penitent was "excommunicated;" that is, expelled from the communion of the Church and even from participation in the normal services of Christian worship until such time as the penance had been completed.

Denial of the Faith was a serious sin which was handled thus: A penance of twelve years was assigned. For the first four years of the penance, the

9. The Dialogue of Egbert, Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 413, appeals to English custom, established by Theodore during the papacy of Vitalian, which required both clerks in monasteries and married persons to make their confessions before Christmas. "Nam haec, Deo gratias, a temporibus Vitaliani papae, et Theodori Dorubernensis Archiepiscopo inolevit in ecclesia Anglorum consuetudo, et quasi legitima tenebatur, ut non solum clerici in monasteriis, sed etiam laici cum conjugibus et familiis suis ad confessores suos pervenirent, et se fletibus et carnalis concupiscentiae consortio his duodecim diebus cum elemosinarum largitione mundarent, quatenus puriores Dominicae communionis perceptionem in Natale Domini perciperent." Cf. Watkins, HOP, 636.

penitent was required to remain outside the door of the church during Mass; for the next seven years, he was permitted to sit or stand in church with the hearers (audientes) or penitents (penitentes); for two additional years, he was allowed to come closer to the Holy Mysteries (i.e., he worshiped with the communicants), but was still denied Holy Communion. In the tenth year, however, one significant concession was made: the penitent was permitted to receive the "oblation." (oblatus). This concession immediately raises a somewhat technical point. We submit that in at least two passages, the wording of the Penitential implies that a distinction, still common in the Eastern Church, was not only made between the unconsecrated "oblations" of bread and wine which were presented for use at the altar and the consecrated Communion Host (hostia) or Sacrifice (Sacrificium) but that the Eastern custom of distributing the unused oblations (i.e., those which had been presented and blessed but not needed for consecration into the Sacred Species) to persons who were not in full communion with the Church was common in some parts of the Theodoran Church.¹⁰ A similar restriction from full

10. Pen.I,v,10,14. Cf. Nicolas ZERNOV, The Church of The Eastern Christians, 54. "In the West the Eucharist

communion was exercised in the case of newly-married couples who were excluded from Mass for forty days after the solemnization of their nuptials.¹¹ At the end of that time, they were only permitted to receive the oblation. It may be presumed that they were restored to full communion at some later date--perhaps as late as the "churching" of the mother after the birth of the first child. Such a use of the word oblation is clearly in distinct contrast to the use of Sacrificium in other sections of the Penitential.¹² Although it may be impossible to determine exactly how the distinction in administration was practised, we submit that the distinction was certainly made and we suggest that it can only be understood against the background of Eastern practice with which Archbishop Theodore was familiar. Final restoration to the full communion of

is sometimes interpreted as a personal meeting between an individual and his Saviour: in the East always as an act of reconciliation between God and all creation; for do not Christians come to the Eucharist bringing with them bread and wine? They approach their Creator, not with empty and idle hands, but as faithful and obedient labourers offering to their Redeemer the fruits of the earth, transformed through their work and purified through the operation of the Holy Spirit." 39. "At the end of each Eucharist, the remaining loaves are distributed among those present, whether they are communicants or not, and taken home by the faithful to those who were unable to come."

11. Pen.I,xiv,1.

the Christian Fellowship came at stated times of the year, one of which was most certainly Maundy Thursday. Such was the Roman custom, and the readmission was usually at the hands of the bishop himself and took place within the apse of the church. The Penitential, however, is careful to point out that, according to Greek custom, it was not necessary that the service take place in the apse. Likewise, it was always possible to delegate this act of re-instatement to one of the presbyters in case of necessity. It is at this point that the ancient tradition of public penance was eventually telescoped and in the end completely delegated to the local presbyter.¹³

3. Contemporary Life and Morals.

To judge solely from the Theodoran Penitential, the life of seventh-century Britain was characterized by a most appalling looseness in the most fundamental principles of the moral life. Standards of marriage were so low and infractions of the marriage code

12. Pen.I,1,9; xii; II,vii,3.

13. Pen.I,1,9; xii,6,8.

were so frequent (often as the result of a politically unstable society) that Theodore, himself, found it nec-
 to permit certain exceptions to the Evangelical ideal
 of Christian marriage.¹⁴ According to the testimony of
 the Penitential, the grossest forms of sexual vice were
 indulged while intemperance in matters of food and drink
 were not at all uncommon.¹⁵ But the key to understand-
 ing how this evidence should be read rests on two impor-
 tant observations. First, the information as we have it
 mainly derives from the Theodoran Penitential. As a con-
 fessor's manual, this document very naturally records an
 ample variety of the possible human sins. Set down in
 black and white, they constitute a most distressing pic-
 ture of immorality in the age of Theodore. We submit,
 however, that the list of offenses therein contained is
 nothing startling to the priest-confessor whose experi-
 ence has not been of the most limited sort. In other
 words, although the canons of the Theodoran Penitential
 do not paint a very pleasing picture of either the
 seventh-century priest or layman, no twentieth-century
 confessor of any experience would presume to claim that

14. Cf. Chapter IV, p.258.

15. Pen.I,xiv,1-4,7,9,13; II,xii,32-36; xiii.

his own day is substantially advanced beyond that of Theodore. Our second key to the situation portrayed in the Penitential is to be found in the canons which specify penances for persons indulging in pagan cults and in the somewhat more extensive passage dealing with unclean foods. Here, we suggest, is the root of the immorality of Theodore's age. Britain was still an island only relatively removed from the paganism of the pre-Christian ages. As with the Corinthian Christians of Saint Paul's day, so too much cannot be expected from those who were only a generation or two removed from the tribal paganism of the previous century. That there seems to be little consistency in the manner in which the Penitential attempted to deal with the situation is simply a further indication that the discipline of the Church was still in a state of flux; quite obviously--almost admittedly--, the Church was indulging in the experiment of "stop-gap legislation." Nothing better could have been expected until the majority of Britain's inhabitants had been thoroughly converted to the Christian way of life, and the achievement of such a goal inevitably was to be the work of many generations of Evangelical witness and Catholic discipline. The wonder is that the Penitential, in spite of its austerity was able, at

times, to suggest the inspiration of a lofty soul, keen spiritual sensitivity, and a genuine poetic feeling which was able to triumph over the sinfulness of a very dark age.¹⁶

4. Sacrificium Communione.¹⁷

The more immediate goal toward which all penitential discipline and Christian worship in the Theodoran Church aimed was the individual Christian's communion in the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. We have described the goal in such terms because they were undeniably common to the period which we are studying. Similarly, the specific regulations surrounding this Sacrament are a very plausible link between the leadership of Archbishop Theodore and the views he entertained with respect of the peculiarly characteristic and central Act of Christian worship.

Our first observation is of the intense care and respect which was demanded for the altar of a

16. Pen.I,viii,5; xii,7; II,xii,16-21; II,i,9.

"Incensum Domini incendatur
In natale Sanctorum pro reverentia diei,
Quia ipsi sicut lilia dederunt
Odorem suavitatis et aspergitur
Aeclesia primitus juxta altare."

17. Cf. title of Pen.I,xii. "De communione Eucharistiae vel Sacrificio."

Christian Church. As we have previously noted, only two Masses might be celebrated at the same altar in one day;¹⁸ the altar itself was not to have steps built before it.¹⁹ Relics of a revered saint were often placed beneath an altar while the actual celebration of the Holy Mysteries was felt to be of such solemnity that it was enhanced by the use of candles and incense.²⁰ Guilds of holy and devout women, probably the professed religious, often had the special care of the sacristy and vessels for the celebration of the Holy Communion. Yet, women were restricted from covering the altar with the linen corporal, placing the communion vessels upon the altar, or standing with the ordained clergy in the presbytery of the sanctuary.²¹ Strictly distinguished from the ordained clergyman, the woman religious was forbidden to hear confessions or prescribe penances.²²

18. Pen.II,1,2..

19. Pen.II,1,6. Cf. Chapter II,p.120,fn.129. This canon may have constituted an attempt to preserve the basilican position of the altar, i.e., sufficiently low and with adequate space behind it so as to permit the bishop to occupy his cathedra in the traditional Eastern fashion.

20. Pen.II,1,7,8,9.

21. Pen.II,vii,1.

22. Pen.II,vii,2. This seems to imply that abbesses occasionally presumed to administer the sacrament of penance.

When receiving Holy Communion, women were expected to approach the altar wearing a black veil.²³ In the Greek Churches, however, the women were permitted to make the oblations, by which may be understood either the baking of the bread itself or, perhaps, the actual liturgical offering of the oblations.²⁴ Such activity was strictly prohibited according to the Roman discipline. We may conclude that the place of woman in the seventh-century Church, although apparently a somewhat popular one as evidenced by the several religious foundations for women, was decidedly restricted when it came to service at the altar or participation in the Liturgy.

Of the Sacrament of the Altar itself, we observe that the term "Sacrificium" was the more common word employed when referring to the consecrated elements.²⁵ As we have already remarked, the unconsecrated bread was described as oblations and, according to ancient Church custom, was offered, possibly in liturgical procession,

23. Pen.II,vii,3.

24. Pen.II,vii,4. "Mulier potest oblationes facere secundum Greecos, non secundum Romanos." Cf.I,xii,3.

25. Cf. our earlier discussion,p.285 .

at the proper point for the Offertory. The Canon of the Mass, itself, contained a Pax;²⁶ the Sacrificium was administered to the faithful, while certain categories of persons not in full communion were permitted to receive merely the blessed but unconsecrated oblations which had not been needed for the actual consecration. Deacons, although taking active part in the service, were strictly forbidden to make the liturgical Fraction (clear evidence that a ceremonial Fraction was normal to the Liturgy), say the Collect, Dominus Vobiscum, or the Completa (Post-Communion Collect).²⁷ Masses in the form of requiems for departed brethren were extremely popular in monastic establishments.²⁸

Regular reception of the Holy Communion was encouraged by both the canons of the Penitential and (in a later generation) by the Venerable Bede.²⁹ From the explicit Greek-Roman comparisons, it seems as though the early Greek custom of weekly Communion was held up as the ideal, although the Roman practice of com-

26. Pen. II, i, 2; iv, 11.

27. Pen. II, 11, 14, 16.

28. Pen. I, v.

29. Bede, Epistola ad Egbertum, 15.

municating less frequently was reluctantly acknowledged.³⁰

In summary, we may infer that the liturgical testimony of the Penitential demonstrates that the Liturgy in common use was that of the Latin Church of the West although occasional, unmistakable traces of Eastern practice may be found. This is further substantiated by our earlier notation of the presence in the eleventh-century missal of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, of several days dedicated to saints of the Eastern Church,³¹ and by the presence in the homilies of Bede and the surviving lectionaries of the seventh and eighth centuries of both dedications and scriptural passages which relate the Church in Britain with the Church of the East.³² For a time, this connection must have been almost as vital as the intercourse which was fostered with Rome by such enthusiasts for the Latin discipline and Benedictine conventual life as Bishop Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop. Only the presence of Theodore of Tarsus is sufficient to account for these unique phenomena.

In the complementary fields of penitential discipline and the Sacrament of the Altar, then,

30. Pen.I,xii,1,2.

31. Rule,MSA,xxii,fol.130, "Theodore the Martyr,"etc."

32. Cf. Chapter II,pp.76-82.

there are undeniable traces of Theodore's Eastern background. Yet, in almost every case, the permissive use of Byzantine ceremonial or discipline was determined by the needs of the members of the congregations so served. In other words, concessions of discipline and ceremonial were determined by the needs of the people, their previous racial history, sociological status, and their earlier indigenous Christian practice. If we be permitted to use the evidence just presented, we may conclude that Theodore proved himself to be a genuine pastor to his people, and whether they were clergy or laity, he regarded their personal religious needs as taking precedence before the literal application of what was generally a most rigorous penitential discipline. In the larger sphere of provincial administration, nevertheless, (admitting certain notable exceptions), there seems to be little evidence that Theodore ever really abandoned his remarkable loyalty to the See which made his original appointment.³³

33. Watkins, HOP, II, 634.

CHAPTER SIX

A CONCLUDING SUMMARY

When, after an episcopate of nearly twenty-two years, Archbishop Theodore died on the 19th of September 690, he was buried in Saint Peter's Church, Canterbury.¹ Inasmuch as the northern porch of the church was already filled with the bodies of his predecessors, he was the first to be laid at rest within the church itself. There his body remained until the tomb was opened in 1097. Upon his sepulchre was engraved an epitaph of thirty-four verses, eight of which may be found in Bede. But Bede himself in one simple sentence more adequately appraised the work of the great prelate than all the carefully chosen phrases in the thirty-four verse elegy. "During the time of his primacy, the English churches received more spiritual benefit than they ever could before."² Surely the Church in Britain must have mourned deeply the loss of a great leader who, in his long and adventuresome episcopate, had lived through the reigns of ten popes (including one anti-pope) and part

1. Bede, HE, V, viii.

2. Pertinent passages from Goscelinus may be found in Bollandi, AS, (Sept. 19), sec. 6.

of an eleventh.³ Bede, at least, was well aware that Christianity in Britain had come to the end of a most glorious era, a period to which even the Church of his own decades was to owe so much.

Dead and buried, Archbishop Theodore was not forgotten, although it seems as though there were two schools of opinion as to his sanctity and greatness. Several centuries later (as we noted in an earlier chapter), the monks of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, were still using a liturgy which, although mainly Western in shape, bore traces of the Eastern monk's primacy. More than this, they celebrated two special Masses, one in commemoration of the translation of the mortal remains of the first seven archbishops of Canterbury, and the other specifically in honour of Theodore. The latter Mass contained the appropriate propers and especially sought the intercession of "the blessed Theodore, confessor and prelate."⁴

Other members of the Church in England were not so charitable. The partisans of Wilfrid of York, for instance, along with Bishop Wilfrid himself,

3. Philippus JAFFE, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, lists Vitalianus, Adeodatus, Donus, Agatho, Leo II, Benedictus II, John V, Conon, Pascalis (anti-pope), Theodorus, Sergius I.

4. Rule, MSA, 111, fol. 120, etc.

presumably were not especially enthusiastic to commemorate the prelate from whose high-handedness and policy of expediency Wilfrid had been permitted to suffer so much. Perhaps the reason why there remains so little evidence on Archbishop Theodore is due to the fanatical destruction of some of the early Vitae which surely must have been written on this great figure from the East. But of this there remains no more proof than several damaging and suggestive erasures from the special propers for the commemoration of Theodore as found in The Missal of Saint Augustine's Canterbury. The Bollandist noted that the Monachus Dunelmensis was quick to take up the case of Bishop Wilfrid and to defend him to the detriment of Theodore's reputation.⁵ Goscelinus, on the other hand, had not hesitated to start a cult of "Saint Theodore" when he composed his account of the translation of the bodies of Saint Augustine and his immediate successors.⁶

5. Bollandist, AS, (Sept. 19), sec. 33. "Monachus Dunelmensis in Historia Episcoporum Dunelmensium Tuda: Anno 678 Theodorus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis qui Wilfridum de pluribus episcopis in amplissima Northanimbrorum provincia constituendis saepius incesum interpellaverat assentiente Ecgfrido rege, tres episcopos auctoritate propria ordinavit...elicita Wilfrido Lindifarne, antiqua episcoporum Northanimbria sede. Postrema haec, si vera sunt, multum de culpa S. Theodori...."

6. Bollandist, AS, (Sept. 19), sec. 6. Historia Translationis Reliquiarum S. Augustini Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Sociorum Eius. The Anglican Martyrology was most lavish

Capgrave's sixteenth-century work, containing the stories of the ancient worthies of Anglo-Saxon Britain, devoted twenty-six columns to Wilfrid, seven to Abbot Hadrian, but only four to Archbishop Theodore.⁷ It is quite evident that, with the exception of the temporary interest manufactured by Goscelinus some time after the eleventh-century translation of the archiepiscopal remains, there was never any very great enthusiasm to perpetuate the memory of Theodore of Tarsus.⁸

Yet a modern historian such as Dom Fernand Cabrol, although regarding Wilfrid as the more important person alongside whom Theodore, a man of some standing, also worked, was quite free in his recognition of the great contribution which the Greek monk made to the Church

in its praise of Theodore while a sixteenth-century Sarum Ms., Martyrologio ad usum Ecclesiae Salisburgiensis, by Richard Wilford, even credited Theodore with edifying Christ's Church by the combination of a life of sanctity and the performance of great miracles. Bollandist, AS, sec.5. "Sancta vita et magnis miraculis multum aedificavit Ecclesiam Christi."

7. CAPGRAVE, Nova Legenda Angliae, NLA, I, 1, xxiii, cclxxxi, ecc.

8. The Bollandist, AS, (Sept. 19), sec. 9, refers to a Vita Theodori mentioned by Leland, the royal archivist, in one of his inventories, but which he himself sought in vain. "Apud Balaeum in Wighardo inveni Lelandum citantem libellum de Vita Theodori, quem frustra quaesivi." The present writer suggests that the Bodleian Ms. 159 may be the document in question or one related to it. Cf. Chapter II, p. 40f, fn. 4, 5.

in Britain. He was quite frank to note, however, that it was less by his sanctity than by his activity that Theodore shone.⁹ Cabrol was likewise certain that Theodore and his associates (including both his immediate predecessors and successors) could not be claimed as seventh-century Protestants, for over all their adversities and disagreements and throughout all their accomplishments, there prevailed a constant loyalty to the See of Rome.

Ils convertirent, ils fondèrent, ils organisèrent, ils conservèrent; ils surent commander aussi bien disciplinée, et ils établirent sur des fondements solides. Dans cette longue période de cinq siècles, pas un schisme, par une hérésie, car Pélagé n'appartient pas à cette race, pas même une tentative un peu sérieuse de révolte. Les protestants auraient donc mauvaise grâce à chercher parmi eux des précurseurs.⁹

Despite this clean bill of health which an ardent scholar of the Roman obedience was willing to give the leaders of the period, we cannot refrain from noting that it was only with some embarrassment and reluctance that Cabrol was able to recognize the dominant position of Archbishop Theodore. And then, his admission was tantamount to a

9. Cabrol, ACAN, 288.

denial that he really was a great figure after all.

Another more recent historian was equally frank in observing that "Theodore's piety was not of the sort to excite the admiration of monastic writers; for no miracles are attributed to him, and he was not regarded as a saint."¹⁰ Although wrong with regard to Theodore's reputation for miracles, Hunt has probably put his finger on a characteristic which went hand in hand with the refusal of Wilfrid's partisans to become overly enthusiastic about Theodore.⁶ The fact remains that Theodore has never yet received official canonisation in the Latin Church although, currently, he is accorded the courtesy of the title "Saint Theodore." Modern Anglicans, following in the tradition of the eleventh-century monks of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, have been more generous and the great ecclesiastic is honoured by having 19 September set aside as a "black-letter day" to "Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, Confessor and Doctor, 690" in the official calendars of the three national provinces of the Anglican Communion within the United Kingdom.¹¹ Standard catalogues of church dedications,

10. Hunt, Art., DNB, 605. R.T. HAMPSON, Medii Aevi Kalendari-um (10th to 15th centuries) does not even list Theodore of Tarsus. I. WOOD (A Roman Catholic) in The English Martyrologe, printed 1608, did list Theodore but omitted all reference to the difficulties with Wilfrid.

however, reveal no churches in the British Isles which have been named after this seventh-century archbishop. Theodoran dedications within the Roman and Eastern Communion refer to other prominent ecclesiastics of the same name.¹²

What can we say now by way of estimating the worth of this little known figure concerning whom opinions have varied so markedly through the ages? Certainly, we must credit Theodore with a work of outstanding administration. That he ruled with a firm hand; that he was occasionally a man of independent mind and perhaps over-ruling temperament cannot be denied. Neither can it be overlooked that he was also a priest of broad personal sympathies which, however, were exercised within a framework of a dominant Catholic loyalty.

In our foregoing pages, we have demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that Archbishop Theodore constituted in his own person a vital link between the Churches of the East and the Church in Britain. We have traced the road which he himself traveled from East to West, and we have seen how some of the character-

11. Cf. for example, The Scottish Book of Common Prayer, The Kalendar, 19 September. Cf. also C.of E., BCP, 1662 and 1928, in the former of which there is a variation in date; 26 September. Cf. Stanton, MEW.

12. Francis ARNOLD-FORSTER, Studies in Church Dedications, (3 vols); F.C.HUSENBETH, Emblems of Saints, 200.

istic Eastern ceremonial and disciplinary practices of the Greek colonies of Western Italy were transferred to the island of Britain; we have discovered that as a seventh-century bishop, Theodore was a scholar, teacher, missionary, defender of the faith, organizer, peace-maker, penitential judge, father-confessor, sympathetic pastor. Yet while, in this sense, Theodore was all things to all men, he still stands out as a man of distinctive character in the history of the early English Church.

In theology, his impeccable orthodoxy was in complete accord with the official position of the Western Church while his influence in matters of liturgies, although rather distinctive and leaving traces of Byzantine ceremonial practices in the missals and penitential manuals of England, was not to last for long. Possessed of a spirit of personal independence and evidencing a somewhat surprising respect for the local traditions of a national Church, (but with certain obvious exceptions such as the Celtic Easter!), Archbishop Theodore was remarkably loyal to his original archiepiscopal commission. In many respects this dominant loyalty, enveloped as it was by a host of ardent Roman sympathisers, almost suffocated the real Theodore of Tarsus.

After a somewhat extensive search, the present writer has come to the conclusion that there is probably only one church and that a fairly modern one which is currently dedicated to Theodore: Chapel of St. Theodore's Hospital, Sagada, Philippine Episcopal Church!

Such was the character of the great figure who led and organized the second major wave of Roman evangelisation among the peoples of Britain. In every respect, his mission was superior to that of Saint Augustine, the first apostle to the English. That this second wave of continental evangelisation lasted not more than a century was indeed regrettable but it casts no reflection on the quality of Theodore's accomplishments. The fact can be accounted for on two grounds. First, there was an undeniable failure to "follow-up" and to continue to build upon the firm foundations which Archbishop Theodore had laid;¹³ secondly, whatever work which was undertaken ultimately lay at the mercy of the terrible Danish invasions and the period of chaos which followed soon after the death of Bede.¹⁴

The present writer has no particular enthusiasm for hero worship. Nevertheless, we submit that, on the basis of measurable accomplishments, the career of Archbishop Theodore leads the field in the history of the early English Church. He was the one "man who contributed more than any other individual to the making of the English Church, both by ecclesiastical organisation and by training of the clergy."¹⁵ Our estimate, inevitably,

13. Bede, Epistola ad Ecgbertum.

14. Stenton, ASE, 237ff.

15. Bury, HLRE, II, 538.

must be that of the Venerable Bede who concluded that there never had been a more happy time since the English first came to Britain. It was an age when there were valiant and Christian kings who were respected by barbarous nations, while the desires of all were entirely directed to the good news of the kingdom of heaven. It was a day when if anyone wished instruction in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, there was no lack of masters who were ready to teach them.¹⁶ One of those teachers--indeed, the greatest of them--was a monk from Tarsus by the name of Theodore.

16. Bede, HE, IV, 11.

APPENDICES

- I. THE CANONS OF HERTFORD
- II. THE SYNODICAL LETTER OF HATFIELD
- III. THE LATERAN CANONS OF 649
- IV. THE THEODORAN PENITENTIAL
- V. ROSSHIRT'S NINETEENTH-CENTURY
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APPENDIX ONE

THE CANONS OF HERTFORD*

24 September A.D.672

IN THE NAME OF THE LORD GOD AND OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST:

The same our Lord Jesus Christ ruling for ever and governing His Church, it seemed good to us to assemble according to the custom prescribed by the ancient canons, to conduct the necessary business of the Church. Thus, we convened on the 24th day of September, in the first Indiction, at a place called Hertford: I, Theodore, although unworthy, by appointment of the Apostolic See, Bishop of the Church of Canterbury; our fellow-priest and brother the most reverend Bisi, Bishop of the East Angles; present by proxies was our brother and fellow-priest Wilfrid, Bishop of the Northumbrian people. Also present were our brothers and fellow-priests, Putta, Bishop of the Castle of the Kents, called Rochester; Lothere, Bishop of the West Saxons; and Winfrid, Bishop of the province of the Mercians. When we were all assembled and seated in order, I charged the synod as follows:

* Bede, HE, IV, v. Cf. also Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 118.

"I beseech you, most dearly beloved brethren, out of fear and love for our Redeemer, that unanimously we take counsel together for our Faith: that whatever has been decreed and defined by our holy and approved Fathers may be observed by all of us inviolably."

I went on to elaborate upon these items and numerous others that pertained to the preservation of the charity and unity of the Church. Upon concluding my prefatory charge, I questioned each of them respectively whether he agreed to observe those things which have been canonically decreed by the early Fathers. To this, all our fellow-priests responded: "This is our sincere desire: We do readily and voluntarily agree to observe everything which the canons of the Holy Fathers have decreed." Whereupon, I produced a book of canons and from the various chapters of this book I singled out ten canons which I had noted, because I knew that they were of particular importance for us, and I requested that these canons might be ratified and diligently observed by everyone.

Canon I. That unanimously we observe the Holy Day of Easter on the Sunday after the fourteenth moon of the first month.

II. That no bishop shall intrude into another's diocese but be satisfied with the care of the people entrusted to him.

III. That whatever monasteries have been consecrated to God, it shall be lawful for no bishop to disturb in any way, nor by violence to deprive any of them of their property.

IV. That monks themselves shall not wander from place to place, that is, from monastery to monastery, except by permission of their abbot; but shall remain in that obedience which at their profession they promised.

V. That no clergy, leaving their own bishop, shall wander at will, nor if they settle somewhere, shall be received without commendatory letters from their prelates. And if having been once received but, upon being summoned, [a cleric] refuse to return, both the receiver and the person who has been received shall be subject to excommunication.

VI. That bishops and clergy when travelling abroad shall be content with whatever hospitality is freely offered them; and that it shall be lawful for none of them to perform any sacerdotal office without the permission of the bishop in whose diocese he is known to be.

VII. That the synod shall be assembled semi-annually. Because of various inconvenience, however, it was decided unanimously that we should assemble only once a year on the first day of August at Clovesho.

VIII. That no bishop shall set himself above another out of ambition; but that all shall acknowledge an order of precedence according to date of consecration.

IX. That the number of bishops should be increased as the number of faithful grew. (We generally urged adoption of this article but recommended no specific action.)

X. Concerning marriages: That no one be permitted to contract any but a lawful marriage. Let no one commit incest, let no one forsake his own wife, except, as the Gospel teaches, because of fornication. But if any man put away his own wife who has been lawfully united with him in wedlock, if he wishes to act as a Christian in the matter, let him not join himself to any other, but let him remain in that state, or else be reconciled to his own wife.

These articles having been generally discussed and defined, that there might be no disagreement among us afterwards, and lest they should be exercised with divergent interpretations, we decided that each of these articles should be formally ratified and personally subscribed. Accordingly, I dictated this statement of agreement to Titillus, the secretary.

GIVEN the month and indiction noted above.

WHOSOEVER, therefore, shall act contrary to this ordinance, prescribed according to these canonical decrees, ratified with our consent and subscribed by our hands, let him know himself to be excluded from the performance of every sacerdotal act and from our own fellowship.

THE DIVINE GRACE preserve us as we live in the Unity of His Holy Church.

APPENDIX TWO

SYNODICAL LETTER OF THE COUNCIL OF HATFIELD*

17 September A.D. 679

IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST THE SAVIOUR:

And during the reign of our most godly lords Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, the 10th year of his reign, on the 17th day of September, in the 8th Indiction; and Ethelred, king of the Mercians, in the 6th year of his reign; and Aldwulf, king of the East Angles, in the 17th year of his reign; and Lothere, king of Kent, in the 7th year of his reign: under the presidency of Theodore, by the grace of God, archbishop of the Isle of Britain, and of the city of Canterbury; and sitting with him the rest of the bishops of the Isle of Britain, very venerable men, having the Holy Gospels set before them, at a place called in the Saxon tongue Heathfelth, in conference together:

"We have expounded the correct and Orthodox Faith; just as our Lord Jesus Christ being incarnate delivered it to His own disciples, who saw Him in person and heard His teaching, and as the Creed of the Holy Fathers has delivered it, and generally as all Holy and Universal Councils and the entire company of authentic doctors of the Catholic Church have delivered it. Following these in a godly and orthodox manner, according

to their divinely inspired doctrine, we do profess our faith and agreement, and we do confess with the Holy Fathers, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit to be a Trinity in Consubstantial Unity, and a Unity in Trinity, that is, One God in three Subsistences or Consubstantial Persons, of equal glory and honour."

.....

"We have accepted the five Holy and Universal Councils of the blessed Fathers as acceptable to God: namely, the 318 who assembled at Nicaea against the ungodly Arius and his doctrines; the 150 at Constantinople against the madness of Macedonius and Eudoxius and their doctrines; the first Council of 200 at Ephesus against the most wicked Nestorius and his doctrines; the 630 at Chalcedon against Eutyches and Nestorius and their doctrines; and the fifth, the Second Council at Constantinople in the time of Justinian the younger against Theodore and the letters of Theodoret and Ibas and their doctrines against Cyril."

.....

"And we accept the Council held at the city of Rome in the time of the most blessed Pope Martin, in the eighth Indiction, in the ninth year of the most godly emperor Constantine. And we glorify our Lord Jesus

just as these men have glorified Him; adding or subtracting nothing: and we anathematize with heart and mouth those whom they have anathematized: and those whom they have received we receive: glorifying God the Father without beginning, and His only begotten Son begotten of the Father before the worlds, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son in an indefinable manner; as these above mentioned Holy Apostles and Prophets and Doctors have proclaimed. To this, all we, who along with Theodore, our archbishop, have set forth the Catholic Faith, do subscribe.

* Bede, HE, IV, xvii. Bede indicates two hiatuses which occur before and after the paragraph affirming the authority of the Oecumenical Councils. Cf. also Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 141.

APPENDIX THREE

THE LATERAN CANONS OF A.D. 649*

These canons originated at the Lateran Council of A.D. 648, under the presidency of Pope Martin I. In 679, they were brought from Rome to Britain by John the Precentor and on 17 September 679 were officially ratified by the Synod of Hatfield meeting under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore.

SANCTA SYNODUS DIXIT:

Licet auctores novitatis, ut jam nobis ex omnibus approbatum est, utpote non solum sermonibus eorum ab invicem confusis, sed et haereticorum doctrinis per omnia consonantibus eis, necnon peternis ac aynodalibus praedicationibus catholicae ecclesiae ab eis extraneis, non intellexerunt omnino, sicut per prophetium vaticinium dictum est, quoniam "obscurati sunt, ne videant oculis suis, et intelligant cordibus suis," venerabilium patrum nostrorum sana decreta et definitiones, quas posuerunt in conservatione orthodoxae fidei. Sed et nos "corde credentes in justitiam, ore autem confitentes in salutem," consonanter et absque ulla novitate, sicut ab eis percepimus, ita intransgressibiliter credimus unum eundemque Filium Dominum nostrum et Deum Jesus Christum, perfectum eundem in Deitate, et eundem perfectum in humanitate, Deum vere, et hominem vere eundem, ex anima rationali et corpore, consubstantialem Patri secundum Deitatem, et consubstantialem nobis eundem secundum humanitatem, per omnia nobis similem absque peccato: ante saecula quidem de Patre genitum secundum Deitatem, in novissimis diebus autem eundem propter nostram salutem ex Maria virgine Dei genitricis secundum humanitatem, unum eundemque Christum Filium Dominum unigenitum, in duabus naturis inconfuse, immutabiliter, indivise, inseparabiliter agnoscendum, nusquam sublata differentia naturarum propter unionem, magisque salva indimute proprietate utriusque naturae, et in unum personam atque subsistentiam concurrente, non in duas personas partitum atque divisum, sed unum et eundem Filium unigenitum, Deum Verbum, Dominum Jesus Christum, et duas ejusdem sicuti naturas unitas inconfuse, indivise, ita et duas naturales voluntates Divinam et humanam, et duas naturales operationes Divinam et humanam, in appropriatione perfecta et indiminuta, eundem veraciter esse perfectum

* Haddan and Stubbs, CED, III, 145-151; Mansi, X, 1151-1162.

Deum, et hominem perfectum secundum veritatem, eundem atque unum Dominum nostrum et Deum Jesum Christum, utpote volentem et operantem Divine et humane nostram salutem, sicut superius prophetae de eo, et ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus docuit nos, atque sanctorum patrum tradidit symbolum, et generaliter omnes sanctae et universales synodi, et omnis probabilius catholicae ecclesiae doctorum chorus. His itaque nobis pie atque orthodoxe, juxta Divinitus inspiratum doctrinam eorum, professis, consonanter dicimus omnes.

I. De Trinitate

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et veraciter Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum Trinitatem in unitate, et unitatem in Trinitate, hoc est, unum Deum in tribus subsistentiis consubstantialibus, et aequalis gloriae, unam eandemque trium Deitatem, naturam, substantiam, virtutem, potentiam, regnum, imperium, voluntatem, operationem, inconditam, sine initio, incomprehensibilem, immutabilem, creatricem omnium et protectricem, condemnatus sit.

II. De Filio

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem ipsum unum sanctae et consubstantialis et venerandae Trinitatis Deum Verbum e caelo descendisse, et incarnatum ex Sancto Spiritu, et Maria semper virgine, et hominem factum, crucifixum carne, propter nos sponte passum sepultumque, et resurrexisse tertia die, et ascendisse in caelos, atque sedentem in dextra Patris, et venturum iterum cum gloria Paterna cum assumpta ab eo atque animata intellectualiter carne eius, judicare vivos et mortuos, condemnatus sit.

III. De B. Virgine

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem Dei genitricem sanctam semperque virginem et immaculatam Mariam, utpote ipsum Deum Verbum specialiter et veraciter, qui a Deo Patre ante omnia saecula natus est, in ultimis saeculorum absque semine concepisse ex Spiritu Sancto, et incorruptibiliter eam genuisse, indissolubili permanente et post partem ejusdem virginate, condemnatus sit.

IV. De Duabus Christi Naturis

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem ipsius et unius Domini nostri et Dei Jesu Christi duas natiuitates, tam ante saecula ex Deo et Patre incorporaliter et sempiternaliter, quamque de sancta virgine semper Dei genitrice Maria corporaliter in ultimis saeculorum, atque unum eundemque Dominum nostrum et Deum Jesus Christum consubstantialem Deo et Patri secundum Deitatem, et consubstantialem homini et matri secundum humanitatem, atque eundem passibilem carne, et impassibile, Deitate, circumscriptum corpore, incircumscriptum Deitate, eundem inconditum et conditum, terrenum et caelestem, visibilem et intelligibilem, capabilem et incapabilem, ut toto homine eodemque et Deo totus homo reformaretur, qui sub peccato cecidit, condemnatus sit.

V. De Humanitate Christi

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem unam naturam Dei Verbi incarnatam, per hoc quod incarnata dicitur nostra substantia perfecte in Christo Deo et indiminute, ansque tantummodo peccato, significata, condemnatus sit.

VI. De Unitis Christi Naturis

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem ex duabus et in duabus naturis substantialiter unitis, inconfuse et indivise unum eundemque esse Dominum et Deum Jesus Christum, condemnatus sit.

VII. De Differentia Naturarum

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem substantialem differentiam naturarum inconfuse et indivise in eo salvatum, condemnatus sit.

VIII. De Unione Naturarum Inconfuse

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem naturarum substantialem unionem indivise et inconfuse in eo cognitam, condemnatus sit.

IX. De Proprietatibus Naturarum

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem naturales proprietates Deitatis ejus et humanitatis indiminute in eo et sine diminutione salvatas, condemnatus sit.

X. De Duabus Voluntatibus Christi

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem duas unius ejusdemque Christi Dei nostri voluntates cohaerenter unitas, Divinam et humanam, ex hoc, quod per utramque ejus naturam voluntarius naturaliter idem consisti nostrae salutis, condemnatus sit.

XI. De Duabus Operationibus Christi

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem duas unius ejusdemque Christi Dei nostri operationes cohaerenter unitas, Divinam et humanam, ab eo quod per utramque ejus naturam operator naturaliter idem existit nostrae salutis, condemnatus sit.

XII. Haereticum est dicere unam in Christo Voluntatem, unam operationem.

Si quis secundum scelerosos haereticos unam Christi Dei nostri voluntatem confitetur et unam operationem, in peremptionem sanctorum patrum confessionis, et abnegationem ejusdem Salvatoris nostri dispensationis, condemnatus sit.

XIII. DE EODEM

Si quis secundum scelerosos haereticos in Christo Deo in unitate substantialiter salvatis, et a sanctis patribus nostris pie praedicatis duabus voluntatibus et duabus operationibus, Divina et humana contra doctrinam patrum, et unam voluntatem atque unam operationem confitetur, condemnatus sit.

XIV. De Eodem

Si quis secundum scelerosos haereticos cum una voluntate, et una operatione, quae ab haereticis impie confitetur, et duas voluntates pariterque et operationes, hoc est, Divinam et humanam, quae in ipso Christo Deo in unitate salvantur, et a sanctis patribus orthodoxe in ipso prae-

dicantur, denegat et respuit, condemnatus sit.

XV. De eodem et Θεανδρικὴ

Si quis secundum scelerosos haereticos Deivirilem operationem, quod Graeci dicunt Θεανδρικὴν, unam operationem insipienter suscipit, non autem duplicem esse confitetur secundum sanctos patres, hoc est, divinam et humanam, aut ipsam Deivirilis, quae posita est, novam vocabuli dictionem unius esse designativam, sed non utriusque mirificae et gloriosae unitiois demonstrativam, condemnatus sit.

XVI. Haereticum est negare Christum Deum esse et Hominem Naturaliter

Si quis secundum scelerosos haereticos in peremptione salvatis in Christo Deo essentialiter in unitioe, et sanctis patribus pie praedicatis duabus voluntatibus et duabus operationibus, hoc est, Divina et humana, dissensiones et divisiones insipienter mysterio dispensationis ejus innectit, et propterea evangelicas et apostolicas de eodem Salvatore voces non uni eidemque personae et essentialiter tribuit eidem ipsi Domino et Deo nostro Jesu Christo secundum beatum Cyrillum, ut ostendatur Deus esse et homo idem naturaliter, condemnatus sit.

XVII. Haereticum est non credere quae tradit Catholica Ecclesia et Quinque Synodi.

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem omnia, quae tradita sunt et praedicata sanctae, catholicae et apostolicae Dei ecclesiae, perindeque a sanctis patribus et venerandis universalibus quinque conciliis, usque ad unum apicem verbo et mente, condemnatus sit.

XVIII. Haereticum est non respuere quae respuit, etc.

Si quis secundum sanctos patres consonanter nobis pariterque fide non respuit et anathematizat anima et ore omnes, quos respuit et anathematizat nefandissimos haereticos, cum omnibus impiis eorum conscriptis usque ad unum apicem sancta Dei ecclesia catholica et apostolica, hoc est, sanctae et universales quinque synodi, et consonanter omnes probabiles ecclesiae patres, id est, Sabellium, Arium, Eunomium, Macedonium, Apollinarem, Polemonem, Eutychem, Dioscorum, Timotheum Aelurum, Severum, Theo-

dosium, Colluthum, Themistum, Paulum Samosatenum, Diodorum, Theodorum, Nestorium, Theodulum Persam, Origenem, Didymum, Evagrium, et compendiose omnes reliquos haereticos, qui a catholica ecclesia reprobati atque abjecti sunt, quorum dogmata diabolicae operationis sunt genimina, et eos qui similia cum his usque ad finem obstinate sapuerunt aut sapiunt, vel sapere sperantur, cum quibus merito, utpote similes eis parique errore praeditos, ex quibus dogmatizare noscuntur, proprioque errori vitam suam determinantes, hoc est, Theodorum quendam Episcopum Pharanitanum, Cyrum Alexandrinum, Sergium Constantinopolitanum, vel ejus successores Pyrrhum et Paulum, in sua perfidia permanentes, et omnia impia illorum conscripta, et eos, qui similia cum illis usque ad finem obstinate sapuerunt, aut sapiunt, vel sapere sperantur, hoc est, unam voluntatem et unam operationem Deitatis et humanitatis Christi; et super haec implissimam Ethesin, quae persuasione ejusdem Sergii facta est ab Heraclio quondam imperatore adversus orthodoxam fidem, unam Christi Dei voluntatem, et unam ex concinnatione definientem operationem venerari, sed omnia, quae pro ea impie ab eis scripta vel acta sunt, et illos qui eam suscipiunt, vel aliquid de his, quae pro ea scripta vel acta sunt; et cum illis denuo scelerosum Typum, qui ex suasionem praedicti Pauli nuper factus est a serenissimo principe Constantino imperatore contra catholicam ecclesiam, utpote duas naturales voluntates operationes, Divinam et humanam, quae a sanctis patribus in ipso Christo Deo vero, et Salvatore nostro pie praedicantur, cum una voluntate et operatione, quae ab haereticis impie in eo veneratur, pariter denegare et taciturnitate constringi promulgantem, et propterea cum sanctis patribus et scelerosos haereticos ab omni reprehensione, et condemnatione injuste liberari definientem, in amputationem catholicae ecclesiae definitionem seu regulam: si quis igitur, juxta quod dictum est, consonanter nobis omnia haec implissima haereses illorum dogmata, et ea quae pro illis aut in definitione eorum a quolibet impie conscripta sunt, et denominatos haereticos, Theodorum dicimus, Cyrum et Sergium, Pyrrhum et Paulum non respuit anathematizat, utpote catholicae ecclesiae rebelles existentes, aut si quis aliquem de his, qui ab illis vel similibus eorum in scripto vel sine scripto quocunque modo vel loco aut tempore temere depositi sunt aut condemnati, utpote similia eis minime credentem, sed sanctorum patrum nobiscum confitentem doctrinam, uti condemnatum habet aut omnino depositum; sed non arbitrat^{ur} hujusmodi quicumque fuerit, hoc est; sive Episcopus,

aut presbyter, vel diaconus, sive alterius cujuscunque ecclesiastici ordinis, aut monachus, vel laicus pius et orthodoxus, et catholicae ecclesiae propugnatorum, atque in ipso firmiter consolidatum, in quo vocatus est a Domino ordine, illos autem impios atque detestabiles eorum pro hoc iudicia, vel sententias vacuas et invalidas atque infirmas magis autem profanas et execrabiles vel reprobabiles arbitratum, huiusmodi condemnatus sit.

XIX. Haereticum est haeticorum promovere dogmata, et calumniare Quinque Universales Synodos.

Si quis ea, quae scelerosi haetici sapiunt, indubitanter professus atque intelligens, per inanem proterviam dicit haec pietatis esse dogmata, quae tradiderunt ab initio speculatores et ministri verbi, hoc est dicere, sanctae et universales quinque synodi, calumnians utique ipsos sanctos patres, et memoratas sanctas quinque synodos, in deceptione simplicium, vel susceptione suae profanae perfidiae, huiusmodi condemnatus sit.

XX. Haereticum est vellicare quae posuere V. Universales Synodi.

Si quis secundum scelerosos haeticos quocunque modo, aut verbo, aut tempore, aut loco terminos removens illicitum, quos posuerunt firmiter sancti catholicae ecclesiae patres, id est, sanctae et universales quinque synodi, novitates temere exquirere, et fidei alterius expositiones, aut typos, velleges, aut definitiones, aut libellos, aut epistolas, aut conscripta, aut subscriptiones, aut testimonia falsa, aut synodos, aut gesta monumentorum, aut ordinationes vacuas et ecclesiasticae regulae incognitas, aut loci servaturas incongruas et irrationabiles, et compendiose, si quid aliud impiissimis haeticis consuetum est agere, per diabolicam operationem tortuose et callide agit contra pias orthodoxorum catholicae ecclesiae, hoc est dicere, paternas ejus et synodales praedicationes, ad eversionem sincerissimae in Dominum Deum nostrum confessionis, et usque in finem sine poenitentia permanet, haec impie agens, huiusmodi in saecula saeculorum condemnatus sit, et dicat omnis populus: fiat, fiat.

His atque a nobis pie promulgatis, et cum omni subtilitate, secundum Dominicam praeceptionem, zizania quidem et omnes facientes scandala, cum paleato et haeretico intellectu eorum, igni canonicae sententiae ex apostolica auctoritate projicientes, triticum autem orthodoxae et apostolicae fidei nostrae Christianorum in horreum, id est, catholicam ecclesiam per ventilabrum paternae doctrinae firmiter congregantes, victrices ei cum propheta Sophonia canimus hymnos: "Gaude nimis, O filia Sio, praedica filia Hierusalem, laetare et exulta ex toto corde tuo filia Hierusalem. Anstulit Dominus a te iniquitates adversariorum tuorum, liberavit te de manu inimicorum, Dominus in medio tui, non videbis mala ultra:" omni explosa novitate haeretica, et omni confirmata in te orthodoxa fide, in possessione vitae aeternae. Per ipsum Christum Dominum Salvatorem animarum nostrarum, cui gloria, honor, veneratio, imperium cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum, Amen. Et subscriptiones:

Martinus, gratia Dei Episcopus sanctae catholicae atque apostolicae ecclesiae urbis Romae, huic definitioni confirmationis orthodoxae fidei, et damnationi Sergii Constantinopolitani quondam Episcopi, Cyri Alexandriae Antistitis, Theodori item Episcopi, Pyrrhi atque Pauli item Constantinopolitani Episcopi cum haeticorum eorum scriptis, statuens subscripsi.

Maximus, episcopus sanctae Aquileiensis ecclesiae, etc.

APPENDIX FOUR

THE THEODORAN PENITENTIAL

The following pages present what we believe to be a reasonably accurate English translation of The Theodoran Penitential. Two critical texts have been used as a basis for our translation: that of Haddan and Stubbs, and that of F.W.Finsterwalder. Numerous passages in the Latin original have required textual emendation but in general we have chosen to follow the expert authority of the aforementioned scholars. The only footnotes which we have thought necessary have been several references to the literary sources of the present document. While there are many other possible allusions both to Irish and Continental works, the sources which we have noted are simply presented to suggest the overwhelming inspiration which the author drew from the theology and practice of the Eastern Church. At this point, it will suffice to observe that the author of the Penitential made thirty-seven explicit quotations from persons or authorities whose opinions he felt worthy of note. For a more detailed study, the reader is referred to the recent work by Professor Finsterwalder: Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Ueberlieferungsformen.

THE PENITENTIAL OF THEODORE

BOOK ONE

I. Concerning Intemperance and Drunkenness

1. If a bishop or any other ordained person be given to habitual drunkenness, either let him desist or be deposed.¹
2. If a monk be drunk to the point of nausea, let him do penance for thirty days.
3. If a presbyter or deacon [find himself in this condition], let him do penance for forty days.
4. If it be true that he has abstained for a long time because of illness, and is not accustomed to eat and drink much, or [has so acted] in the celebration of the festivities at Christ's Birth, or at Easter, or at the commemoration of some saint, and then did not take more than was permitted by the elders, he is blameless. If the bishop commanded, it, he is blameless, unless he himself were drunk.
5. If a faithful layman be drunk to the point of nausea, let him do penance for fifteen days.
6. He, indeed, who becomes drunk against the Lord's command, if he be under a vow of sanctity, his penance shall be bread and water for seven days and abstinence from fats for seventy days; the laity are to abstain from beer.
7. Let him who through wickedness causes another to become drunk do penance for forty days.
8. Let him who becomes nauseated from intemperance do a three days' penance.
9. If this happen at the Communion Sacrifice (sacrificio communione), let him do penance for seven days; if the cause be infirmity, he is blameless.

I,1. Const. Apost. VIII, c.

II. Concerning Fornication

1. If any man fornicates with a virgin, let him do penance for one year; if with a married woman, four years, two complete years, two additional years during Lent for three days a week.
2. He who makes a habit of fornicating with a male or with an animal, let him be under judgement for ten years that he may do penance.
3. In addition: He who has intercourse with animals, let him do penance for fifteen years.
4. He who has intercourse with a male after his twentieth year, let him do penance for fifteen years.
5. If a male fornicates with a male, let him do penance for ten years.
6. Let Sodomites do penance for seven years; homosexuals are to be treated as adulterers.
7. In such cases: he who has acted so once, let him do penance for four years; if [such action] has previously been his custom, as Basil said. If he so acts repeatedly, fifteen years of penance, keeping him in confinement for one year as a woman. If he be a boy, two years for the first offense; if repeated, four years.
8. If he voids in femoribus, [let him do penance] for one year for three Lents.
9. If he masturbates, [let him do penance] for forty days.
10. Let him who desires to fornicate but is unable to, do penance for forty days [or at least] for twenty. If he have this desire frequently, if he is a boy, twenty days, or let him be flogged.

II,3,4. Basil ad Amphil., III, c. 63, 58.
 II,6. Basil ad Amphil., III, c. 7, 62, 63.
 II,8. Irish Law; Basil, Ep. III, c. 58, 62.
 II,7. Luci Victoriae.

11. In the case of boys who fornicate among themselves, [Theodore] judged that they should be flogged.

12. Let a woman who fornicates with a woman do penance for three years.

13. If she masturbates, let her do penance.

14. There is one penance for widows and girls. An adult woman deserves the same [penance] as a man if she fornicates.

15. Let him who puts semen into his mouth do penance for seven years; this is a most vicious offense. Anyone judged of both these offenses, let him do penance either unto the end of his life, or for twenty-two years, or, as above, for [a minimum of] seven years.

16. If any man fornicates with his mother, let him do penance for fifteen years, and let [the sentence] never be relaxed except on Sundays. [Theodore] judged this very profane incest in another way, namely, that he should do penance by going on pilgrimage for seven years.

17. He who fornicates with his sister, let him do penance for fifteen years, as was said above concerning [incest with] a mother; [The remainder of this canon is composed of several garbled glosses.]

18. The first canon judges that he who fornicates often should do penance for ten years; the second canon seven; but because of the weakness of man, after taking counsel, [Theodore judged as a minimum] that he should do penance for three years.

19. If a brother fornicates with his natural brother, because of the comixture of the flesh, let him abstain from intercourse for fifteen years.

20. Let him who has lustful thoughts do penance until he has conquered them with higher thinking.

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- II,16. Lucī Victoriae,6; Basil ad Amphil.c.75; Bede,I,xvi.
 II,17. Basil ad Amphil.c.74.
 II,19. Basil ad Amphil.c.68.

22. He who lusts for a woman in his mind, let him seek consent from her; if she consents, let him plight his love and friendship; if he is not welcomed by her, let him do penance for seven days.

III. Concerning Avarice

1. If a layman abduct a monk from a monastery, he must either enter a monastery himself to serve God, or subject himself to human servitude.
2. Money stolen from a church is to be returned fourfold; if from a layman, twofold.
3. He who has ~~often~~ committed theft is to have a penance of seven years; or for such time as the priest shall determine, that is, what is considered to fit the crime. He who has committed a theft, ought, in pursuing his penance, always be reconciled to him whom he offended, make due restitution, and thereupon have his penance commuted. If he be unwilling, on the other hand, or is unable, let the determined length of the penance stand.
4. He who informs against a thief should give a third part to the poor; and he who hoards riches because of ignorance should give a third part to the poor.
5. Let him who steals consecrated things do penance for three years, abstaining from fats; only then may he communicate.

IV. Concerning Homicides

1. If any man in revenge for a relative kills a man, let him do penance as a murderer, seven to ten years. If, however, he is willing to pay the relatives the pecuniary satisfaction [wergeld], the penance shall be lightened, that is, it may be reduced by one-half.
2. He who kills a man in order to revenge a brother, let him do penance for three years. In another place, [theodore] says that the penance should be for ten years.
3. For a [clear case of] homicide, ten or eleven years.

4. If a layman commits pre-meditated murder, if he is unwilling to surrender his arms, let him do penance for seven years, three of which he shall abstain from meat and wine.

5. If anyone kills a monk or cleric, let him surrender his arms and serve God or do penance for seven years. The bishop is to sit in judgement. If, however, he has killed a bishop or presbyter, the king is the judge of him.

6. Let him who by his master's orders has killed a man absent himself from church for forty days: let him who has killed a man in battle do penance for forty days.

7. If [any man shall have killed] through anger, let him do penance for three years; if by accident, one year; if when drunk or by craft, four or more years; if in a brawl, ten years.

8. V. Concerning Those Deceived By Heresy

1. If any man is ordained by a heretic, he ought to be ordained again if it were done through ignorance; if knowingly, he ought to be deposed.

2. If any man forsakes the Catholic Church for heresy, and afterwards returns, he cannot be ordained until after a long period of probation, and then only in great necessity. Pope Innocent did not permit a cleric to re-instate himself by penance as the canon provided. Therefore, Theodore said: "Unless in great necessity"-- Theodore who said that he never wished to change the decrees of the Romans.

3. If any man holds in contempt the Nicene Council and celebrates Easter with the Jews on the fourteenth of Nisan, let him be banished from every church unless he repent before his death.

4. If any one prays with such a person as if he were a catholic cleric, let him do penance for seven days; if perchance he has acted through neglect, let him do penance for forty days on the first occasion.

5. If anyone encourages heresy and does not choose to do penance, let him be excommunicated. As the Lord said, "He who is not with me is against me."

6. If anyone is baptized by a heretic who does not believe in the Trinity in orthodox fashion, he must be re-baptized. [We do not believe that Theodore said this contrary to the Council of Nicaea and the decrees of the synod, since it was established concerning the Arian converts who did not believe the Trinity in orthodox fashion.]

7. If anyone gives or receives the Communion from the hand of a heretic not knowing that it is contrary to the Catholic Church, but afterwards learns of it, let him do penance for ten years; others judge seven and those who are more humane let him do penance only five years.

8. If anyone permits a heretic to celebrate Mass in a Catholic Church and does so in ignorance, let him do penance for forty days. If it is out of [personal] respect for him, let him do penance for a year.

9. If [he has acted] to do harm to the Catholic Church and the customs of the Romans, let him be ejected as a heretic unless he is willing to do penance; if so, let him do penance for ten years.

10. If anyone abandons the Catholic Church for a congregation of heretics, and persuades others to do so, but afterwards chooses to do penance, let him do penance for twelve years; four years outside the church, seven among the hearers (audientes), and two more without Communion (extra communionem). Concerning such, it is said in synod: In the tenth year, let them receive the Communion or [at least] the oblation [communione sive oblationem]

11. If a bishop or abbot orders a monk to sing Mass for deceased heretics, it is neither legal nor expedient to obey him.

12. If a presbyter is present when he sings Mass, and another recites the names of the deceased, and at the same time names heretics with Catholics, and discovers it after the Mass, let him do penance for a week. If he does this frequently, let him do penance for a period of a year.

13. If any one orders a Mass for a deceased heretic, and preserves some relics of him in the interests of [venerating] his goodness, although he failed much and did in

ignorance not show a proper deference for the Catholic Faith, but afterwards discovers it and chooses to do penance, he ought to burn the relics with fire, and do penance for one year. If, however, he acted in knowledge but still neglected to do so, yet is moved to penitence, let him do penance for ten years.

14. If anyone abandons his faith in God without absolute necessity, but afterwards wholeheartedly receives his penance, let him do penance among the hearers (audientes) in accordance with the Nicene Council, three years outside the church, seven years in the church among the penitents (inter penitentes), and two more years without communion (extra communionem).

VI. Concerning Perjury

1. Let him who commits perjury in church do penance for eleven years.

2. If he does it under duress, then for three Lents.

3. To swear "in the hand of a man," is of no consequence among the Greek.

4. If, however, he swears in the hand of a bishop or presbyter or deacon, or on an altar, or on a consecrated cross, and then breaks an oath, let him do penance for three years. If, however, it was on an unconsecrated cross, let him do penance for one year.

5. Let perjurers do penance for three years.

VII. Concerning Diverse Evils and Those Acts Which Are Not necessarily Sinful

1. He who has committed many crimes, such as homicide, adultery, intercourse with animals, theft; let him enter a monastery and do penance until his death.

2. Concerning money which has been captured in a foreign province from a vanquished enemy, as from a king who has been conquered: Let one-third be given to the Church or to the poor, and let him do penance for forty days since [this was done] by order of the king.

3. Let him who drinks blood or semen do penance for three years.
4. Evil thoughts which are not implemented in deed are not subject to punishment.
5. Theodore recommended twelve three-day fasts annually: From sick people, from a male or a female servant annually, and if he has defrauded anyone, he must restore four-fold, as Christ commanded. [These regulations are, as we said in the preface, from the *Libellus Scotorum*, in which as in the rest (of the Penitential) the penalty is sometimes heavier and sometimes lighter.
6. Let him who eats unclean meat or the flesh of animals torn by wild beasts do penance for forty days. If, however, it is a case of famine, it is permissible, since anything is legitimate--anything, that is, which is a matter of necessity.
7. If anyone touch food with unclean hands, or hands soiled by contact with a dog, the skin of a mouse, or any unclean blood-eating animal, it is not an offense; nor is it an offense, if out of necessity, one eats a seemingly unclean animal, bird, or beast.
8. If a mouse falls into any liquor, it is to be taken out, and the liquor is to be asperged with holy water. If the mouse is living, the liquor may be consumed; if, however, it is dead, all the liquor is to be thrown out and not given to anyone and the container is to be washed.
9. In the same situation: If the liquor into which a mouse or weasel falls and dies is in considerable quantity, let it be purged and asperged with holy water; it may be consumed if necessity arises.
10. If birds drop excrement into any liquor, let the excrement be removed, and let it be sanctified with water; the food will be clean.
11. To absorb blood unknowingly with saliva is not sin.

12. If, in ignorance, anyone is polluted by eating blood or anything unclean, it is of no account; if, however, he knows he does so, let him do penance as in the case of pollution.

VIII. Concerning Various Lapses of the Servants of God

1. If a priest have an erection while touching or kissing a woman, let him do penance for forty days.

2. If a presbyter kisses a woman through lust, let him do penance for twenty days.

3. If a presbyter through cogitation produces a sexual emission, let him fast for a week.

4. If a presbyter masturbates, let him fast for three weeks.

5. If any presbyter refuses absolution to the dying, he will be responsible for their souls, for the Lord said: "On whatsoever day a sinner is converted, he shall live and not die." For a genuine conversion is possible at the last hour, for the Lord is not only God of time but the inspector of the heart. Thus a robber making his confession at the last hour may merit, in the next moment, to be in paradise.

6. Let a monk or nun who commits fornication do penance for seven years.

7. Let [a religious] who often after violent cogitation has a sexual emission do penance for twenty days.

8. Let [a religious] who while sleeping in church has a seminal emission fast for three days.

9. If [a religious] masturbates, let him do penance twenty days for the first time, forty days the second; if more, let fasts be added.

10. If it be a case of pollution in femoribus, one year or three Lents.

11. Let him who masturbates do penance for forty days: if he be a boy, forty days or let him be flogged. If he be in orders, three Lents, or a year if he do so frequently.
12. If a monk, having renounced the world, returns to his secular habit, but after this chooses penance, let him do penance for ten years, and if after the first three years, he has proved himself in every respect, with tears and prayers, the bishop may lighten the discipline.
13. If a man who is not a monk has abandoned the Church, let him do penance for seven years.
14. Basil judged that a boy under sixteen might marry if he were unable to abstain, although if he had been a monk, he was to be classed among the bigamists and should do penance for one year.

IX. Concerning Those Who Are Deposed or Who Cannot Be Ordained

1. A bishop, presbyter, or deacon, committing fornication ought to be deposed, and do penance as prescribed by the bishop; he may, however, communicate. By the penance, he is made dead as far as his position is concerned, but his soul lives.
2. If anyone having dedicated himself to God adopts a lay habit, he must not be promoted to any other grade.
3. A woman should not adopt the veil, for it is much better that she should not rule in the Church.
4. If any presbyter or deacon marry a strange woman, let him be publicly deposed.
5. If he commit adultery and appear in public with her, let him be ejected from the Church and let him do penance among the laity as long as he lives.

IX,1. Can. Apost.c.25.

IX,7. Vinn.48. Cf. Bede,3,41.

6. If any man has a concubine, he ought not to be ordained.

7. If a presbyter, in his own diocese or in another, or wherever he may be, claims to be ill and is unwilling to baptize anyone on account of the length of the journey, and the person dies unbaptized, let him be deposed.

8. Similarly, let him who kills a man or commits fornication be deposed.

9. Monastic boys are not permitted to be ordained before the age of twenty-five.

10. If anyone marries a widow, either before or after she has been baptized, he cannot be ordained, but is to be classed as a bigamist.

11. If anyone who is ordained baptizes someone through timidity, he is to be ejected from the Church and never ordained.

12. If anyone is ordained before he has been baptized, those who were baptized by him should be rebaptized, and he himself should be reordained.

[This, again, was judged differently by the Roman See, which asserted that it is not the man who baptizes, in this case a pagan, but the Spirit of God administers the grace of baptism. Also the matter was adjudged differently in the case of a pagan presbyter, who thought that he was baptized and held the Catholic Faith with good works. Others judged that in such a case the man might be baptized and reordained.]

X. Penance for the Twice-Baptized

1. Those who, in ignorance, have been baptized twice, should not suffer penance, although according to the canon they may not be ordained unless it is a case of great necessity.

2. Those, however, who consciously undergo rebaptism, thus crucifying Christ afresh, must do penance for seven years on the fourth and sixth days of the week, and also for three Lents. If, however, they have done this for some worldly reason, let them do penance for three years.

XI. Concerning Those Who Show Contempt For the Lord's Day and Fail to Keep the Fasts of The Church

1. Concerning those who labour on the Lord's Day: The Greeks generally argue for the offenders on a first breach; on the second breach, they fine them; on the third breach, they fine them one-third of their property or flog them, or require that they should do penance for seven days.
2. If, however, anyone through negligence should fast on the Lord's Day, he ought to fast for the whole week; if he do it a second time, he should do penance for twenty days; if afterwards, for forty days.
3. If he fast [thus] to show contempt for the Christian Calendar, as do the Jews, let him be ~~shunned~~ ^{anathematized} by all Catholic churches.
4. If, however, he holds in contempt the rule of fasting in the Church and acts against the rulings of the elders in another season than during Lent, let him do penance for forty days; if, however, it be during Lent, let him do penance for a year. If he holds the Lenten fast in contempt, let him do penance for forty days.
5. If he acts thus frequently and it becomes a habit with him, let him be expelled from the Church. As the Lord says: "He who cause one of these little ones to stumble," etc.

XII. Concerning Communion at the Eucharist or Sacrifice

1. The Greeks, clergy and laity, communicate every Lord's Day, as the canons require, and those who do not communicate for three Lord's Days are excommunicated.
2. Those Romans who so wish communicate every Sunday; however, those who do not do so are not excommunicated.
3. The Greek and Romans abstain from woman for three days before the offering of the bread, (*ante panes propositionis*) as it is written in the Law.

XII,1. Cf. Conc. Elibert, c.21; Sard.c.14; Agde, c.18.
 XII,2. Can.Apost. c.9 (10).

4. Penitents (penitentes), according to the canons, ought not to communicate before the completion of the penance. We, however, through compassion, give a dispensation after six months or, a year.
5. Let him who receives the Sacrifice (sacrificium) after eating do penance for seven days. This is a matter to be decided at the discretion of the bishop. [In some copies, the clause, "at the discretion of the bishop" is omitted.]
6. Every Sacrifice (sacrificium) which becomes soiled and dirty with age is to be burned.
7. Confession to God alone is permissible, if it is necessary. [The "necessary" is not present in some codices.]
8. He who, by accident, loses the Sacrifice (sacrificium) or permits it to be devoured by birds must fast for three weeks; if he has been negligent, for three Lents.

XIII. Concerning Reconciliation

1. Romans reinstate a man within the apse; the Greeks, however, do not.
2. Restoration of penitents (penitentium) is to be made at the Maundy Thursday Celebration (Coena Domini). This is to be done only by the bishop upon completion of the penance.
3. If, however, it be difficult for the bishop to do so, a presbyter, by reason of necessity, is delegated the power that the rules may be fully observed.
4. "Public Reconciliation" (Reconciliatio...puplice) is not required by statute in this province inasmuch as there is no public penance (puplice penitentia).

XIV. Concerning Special Penances for Married Persons

1. A presbyter ought to celebrate Mass for a first marriage and bless both parties but afterwards they are to absent themselves from church for thirty days. After

this, they are to do penance for forty days and abstain from public worship (orationi); afterwards they may communicate with the oblation (communient cum oblatione).

2. Digamists must do penance for one year, on Wednesday and Friday, while for three Lents they must abstain from meat. They must not be separated nor must the husband dismiss his wife.

3. In the case of trigamy, as above, that is, penance on Wednesday and Friday for seven years while they must abstain from meat for three Lents. They are not to be separated. Thus Basil judges although the canon sets a penance of four years.

4. If a man discovers that his wife has committed adultery and does not wish to divorce her, but wishes to keep her as his wife, let him do penance for two years with a fast two days a week as long as he does penance; let him abstain from the marital relationship because she has committed adultery.

5. If a man and a woman who have made a vow of virginity are bound in matrimony, they must not separate but do penance for three years.

6. Stupid and impossible vows are to be broken.

7. It is not permissible for a woman to take a vow without the consent of her husband but if she has vowed to leave him, she can do so although she must do penance as prescribed by the priest.

8. Let him who divorces his wife and marries another do penance for seven years with chastisement.

9. Let him who pollutes his neighbor's wife do penance for three years, abstaining from his own wife, two days a week during three Lents.

10. If she be a virgin, let him do penance for one year, abstaining from meat and wine.

XIV,6. Basil ad Amphil. c.28.

11. If he pollutes a nun, let him do penance for three years, as above, whether he have a son or not by her.

12. If she be his slave, let him free her and do penance for six months.

13. If his wife goes away with another man, she must do three years' penance; if she returns unpolluted, one year. He himself must do one year's penance if he takes another wife.

14. An adulterous woman must do penance for seven years. This is the requirement of the canon.

15. A woman who commits fornication must do penance for three years as an adulterer.

Thus also she who mixes her husband's semen with food that she may receive more of love must also do penance.

16. A woman who takes her husband's blood as a remedy must do penance for forty days more or less.

17. A woman must not enter a church during menstruation, nor must she communicate, whether a religious or laywoman; if she so presumes, let her fast for three weeks.

18. Similarly let them do penance who enter the church before being cleansed after child-birth, that is forty days.

19. Let her who has intercourse during these periods do penance for twenty days.

20. Let her who marries on the Lord's Day seek an indulgence from God and let her do penance for one, two, or three days.

21. If a husband attempts intercourse with his wife sua retro, let him do penance for forty days on the first occasion.

22. If he attempts intercourse in tergo, he ought to do penance just as those who have intercourse with animals.

23. If he has intercourse with her during her menstrual period, let him do penance for forty days.

24. Women who commit an abortion before there is evidence of life must do penance for one year or three Lents or forty days, according to the degree of her fault; if she does so after the appearance of life, i.e. forty days after conception, let her do penance as a homicide, three years, on Wednesday and Friday, and for three Lents. This is ordered according to the tenth canon.

25. If a mother kills her son and it be a clear case of homicide, she must do penance for fifteen years. Let there be no relaxation of the penance except on the Lord's Day.

26. A very poor woman who kills her son must do penance for seven years. [The canon rules in a case of homicide that she should do penance for ten years.]

27. A woman who kills her child within forty days of conception must do penance for one year; if after forty days, let her do penance as a homicide.

28. If an infirm or pagan child be entrusted to a presbyter, and die, let the presbyter be deposed.

29. If a child die from parental neglect, they must do penance for one year; if a child of three years with baptism, let them do penance for three years, both the father and mother. [Thus he judged that the length of time should be determined by the age of the deceased.]

30. He who kills his son before baptism must, according to the canon, do penance for ten years; if he do so after deliberation, seven years.

XV. Concerning Idolatrous Cults

1. Those who occasionally sacrifice to demons must do penance for one year; those who make a practice of it must do penance for ten years.

XIV, 28. Cf. Vinnianus, 48.

XIV, 29. Cf. Vinnianus, 47.

2. A woman who puts her daughter on the roof or in an oven to cure her of fever must do penance for seven years.

3. He who in the interests of a home and its survivors burns grain when a man has died must do penance for five years.

4. If a woman perform diabolical incantations or divinations, let her do penance for one year, or three Lents, or forty days according to the nature of her guilt. Concerning this, it is said in the canon: They who are guilty of augury, auspices, dreams, or divinations after the custom of the Gentiles, if they have introduced men into the house to practice such acts, if they be clergy, they must be deposed, if laymen, they must do penance for five years.

5. In the case of him who eats meat which has been sacrificed but then confesses it, the priest must inquire as to his age and as to how he has been instructed and how it happened and must allot punishment according to the degree of guilt. This is to be the procedure in all penances and confessions.

THE SECOND BOOK

I. Concerning the Service of the Church and Its Reconstruction

1. It is lawful to move a church to another site if it be necessary, but it need not be reconsecrated; however, the presbyter ought to asperge the place with water and erect a cross on the old site of the altar.

2. It is proper for two Masses to be celebrated on the same altar on one day. And he who does not intend to communicate should not offer the bread or receive the Kiss of Peace (Pax) at the Mass. He who has previously eaten is not permitted to receive the Pax.

3. Timbers from one church should not be used for another purpose except for another church or for burning or for repairs by the brothers in a monastery or for the baking of the communion breads but not for secular purposes.

4. It is not permissible to consecrate an altar in a church in which the bodies of unbelievers are buried; but if it appear to be suitable for consecration, let them be removed and the church rebuilt after the timbers have been scraped or washed.

5. If, however, it had been previously consecrated, it is permissible to celebrate Masses in it, if religious have been buried there; if, however, a pagan is buried there, it is better to cleanse it and to remove his remains.

6. We ought not to make steps before an altar.

7. The relics of the saints are to be venerated.

8. If possible a candle ought to be burned here every night; if, however, the poverty of the place precludes it, no harm is done.

9. The incense of the Lord is burnt on the birthday of saints for the hallowing of the day, because, like lilies, they gave an odour of sweetness. They should asperge the church of God and cense the church beginning at the altar.

10. A layman ought not to read a lection in church or sing the Alleluia, but he may sing Psalms and responses without the Alleluia.

11. People may asperge the house in which they live with holy water as often as they wish. When water is consecrated, a prayer should be said first.

II. Concerning the Three Major Orders of the Church

1. It is permissible for a bishop to confirm in a field if necessary.

2. Similarly, it is permissible for a presbyter to celebrate Masses in the open if a deacon, or the presbyter himself, holds the chalice and oblation (oblationem).

3. A bishop ought not to compel an abbot to go to a synod unless there be some reasonable cause.

4. A bishop may dispense the cases of the poor up to fifty "solidi;" a king, however, if they involve any more.
5. A bishop or an abbot may hold a criminal as a slave if he does not have the price of redemption.
6. A bishop may dispense from a vow if he wishes.
7. It is permissible for a presbyter to celebrate Masses and to bless the people on Good Friday, and to sanctify a cross.
8. It is not compulsory to give tithes to a presbyter.
9. It is not permissible for a presbyter to interrogate a bishop [relative to his] sin because he is over him.
10. The Sacrifice (Sacrificium) is not to be received from the hands of a priest who is unable to say the prayers or lections according to the rite.
11. If a priest, or other clerk, sings the responses at Mass, he should not remove his cope, but he should place his hood over his shoulders at the reading of the Gospel.
12. If a presbyter commits fornications, after it has been discovered, those who have been baptized by him should be rebaptized.
13. If any ordained presbyter discover that he himself has not been baptized, he should be baptized and ordained again, and all those whom he has previously baptized should be [validly] baptized.
14. Among the Greeks, deacons do not break the holy bread (non frangunt panem sanctum), nor do they say the collect (collectionem) nor the Dominus Vobiscum, nor the Post Common (completas).
15. It is not permissible for a deacon to give penance, but a bishop or presbyter ought to assign penance.
16. Deacons may baptize or bless food and drink; they may not distribute the bread (non panem dare); similarly monks and clerks may bless foods.

III. Concerning Diverse Orders

1. At the ordination of a bishop, Mass ought to be sung by the ordaining bishop himself.
2. At the ordination of a presbyter or deacon, the bishop ought to celebrate Mass, as the Greeks are accustomed to do at the election of an abbot or abbess.
3. At the ordination of a monk, however, the abbot ought to celebrate Mass and to recite three prayers over his head. For seven days the monk ought to veil his head with his hood, and on the seventh day, the abbot should remove it, just as at baptism the presbyter removes the veil from the child. Thus the abbot should do to a monk because his ordination is his second baptism and in the judgement of the Fathers removes all sins as in baptism.
4. A presbyter ought to consecrate an abbess with the celebration of Mass.
5. At the ordination of an abbot, however, a bishop ought to celebrate Mass, and bless him with bowed head in the presence of two or three witnesses from his brethren, and to give to him the staff and crook.
6. Nuns and [acolytes of] a basilica always ought to be consecrated with Mass.
7. The Greeks similarly bless a widow and virgin and elect either as an abbess. The Romans, however, do not veil a widow along with a virgin.
8. According to the Greeks it is permissible for a presbyter to consecrate a virgin with a sacred veil, to reconcile a penitent, and to make the exorcizing oil for chrism for the infirm if it is necessary. According to the Romans, however, it is permissible for the bishop alone.

IV. Concerning Baptism and Confirmation

1. In baptism, sins are remitted. [This does not apply to infants in the prenatal state] because sons would then be deemed real sons simply by reason of the mother's own baptism.

III,3. Innoc.Ep. ad episcopos Maced.c.2.

III,4. Gregory Nazianzus?

2. A woman who was married before baptism is not regarded as a wife. Therefore, neither the sons she has had before baptism can be regarded as real sons nor are they to call one another brothers or share in the inheritance.
3. If any Gentile give alms, practice abstinence, and perform other good works which we cannot enumerate, does he lose the benefits of these in baptism? No, for whatever good [he has done] is not lost but the bad will be washed away. Pope Innocent affirmed this taking for his example the precedent concerning the catechumen Cornelius.
4. Gregory of Nazianzus said that the second baptism is one of tears.
5. We do not believe that baptism is complete without confirmation by a bishop. However, we do not despair [where it is lacking].
6. Chrism was appointed at the Nicene Council.
7. It is not improper to use the same chrismal napkin (pannus crismatis) again on another baptized person.
8. If necessary, one person may act as godfather during the catechumenate, at baptism, and at confirmation. This is not customary, however, but separate individuals are chosen for each ceremony.
9. It is not permissible for one who is neither baptized nor confirmed to act as a sponsor.
10. A man, however, may be sponsor for a woman at baptism; similarly also a woman may act for a man.
11. It is not permissible for the baptized to eat with catechumens nor to give them the Pax, still less to Gentiles.

V. Concerning Requiem Masses

1. According to the Roman Church it is the custom to carry dead monks or other religious to the church, and then to anoint their breasts with chrism, to celebrate Mass for them; next to carry them to their graves with chanting; and when they have been placed in their graves to say a prayer for them and finally to cover them with earth or stone.

2. Mass is to be celebrated for them on the first, third, ninth, and thirtieth days, and at the end of the year if they wished it to be so observed.
3. Mass is to be celebrated for a dead monk on the day of his burial and the third day after, and afterwards as often as the abbot wishes.
4. Masses are also celebrated for dead monks each week when it is the custom to recite their names.
5. Masses for seculars are to be celebrated three times a year, the third, ninth, and thirtieth days because the Lord rose on the third day and died at the ninth hour, and the children of Israel mourned for Moses thirty days.
6. Mass is to be celebrated for a good layman on the third day, for a penitent on the thirtieth day, or the seventh after a fast because his relatives ought to fast for seven days and to offer the oblation at the altar (oblationem offerre ad altare), as we read in Jesus Son of Sirach, "And the Sons of Israel fasted for Saul;" afterwards as often as the presbyter shall desire.
7. Many say that it is not permissible to celebrate Masses for infants before they are seven years old; however, it is permissible.
8. Dionysius the Areopagite says that it is blasphemy to God to celebrate Masses for an evil man.
9. Augustine says that they ought to be celebrated for all Christians because they may console those who celebrate them or profit those for whom they are offered.
10. It is not permissible to celebrate Masses for a presbyter or deacon who has been excommunicated or did not wish to receive the Viaticum.

VI. Concerning Abbots and Monks or a Monastery

1. An abbot may resign his position from humility with the permission of the bishop. However, the brethren must

elect his successor from among themselves if they have a person who is suitable; if not, however, a person from outside.

2. A bishop ought not to retain an abbot in his position by force.

3. A congregation ought to elect a successor after the abbot's death; or while he is alive, if he has seceded or sinned.

4. An abbot cannot ordain one of his relative or give the position to a stranger, or another abbot without the permission of the brothers.

5. If, perchance, an abbot has sinned, it is not permissible for the bishop to take possession of the monastery, but he must send him into another monastery in the power of another abbot.

6. It is permissible for neither an abbot nor a bishop to transfer church property to another community even though both may be in his jurisdiction. If he wish to effect a change of church property, let him do so with the consent of both communities.

7. If an abbot wishes to move his monastery to another place, let him do so with the counsel of the bishop and his own brothers, and let him leave a presbyter in the original site for the administration of the church.

8. It is not permissible for men to have women in their monasteries or for women to have men; however, we do not abolish that which is the custom of this country.

9. It is not permissible for a monk to take a vow without the consent of the abbot; if he do so, it may be broken.

10. If an abbot has a monk who is worthy of the episcopate, he ought to give him up if it be necessary.

11. It is not permissible for a boy to marry if he has previously taken the vow of a monk.

12. A monk, whom the congregation has chosen to be ordained to the grade of presbyter, ought not to give up his former manner of life.

13. If, afterwards, however, he be found proud, disobedient, or vicious, and lead a worse life in the higher order, let him be deposed and instituted in his former position unless he shall make emends.

14. It is within the power and freedom of a monastery to receive the infirm into the monastery.

15. A monastery is also free to wash the feet of laymen except on Maundy Thursday (Coena Domini).

16. Monks are not free to impose penance on seculars, for this is the proper duty of the clergy.

VII. Concerning the Rite for Women and Their Ministry

1. Women should not veil the altar with the corporal nor place the oblations or chalice (corporali, oblationes, calicem) on the altar, nor should they stand among the ordained in the church, nor sit among the priests at banquets.

2. Women are not permitted to prescribe penances because according to the canon this is permissible for none except the priests alone.

3. Women, as Basil determined, may receive the Sacrifice (sacrificium) when wearing a black veil.

4. According to the Greeks, women may make the oblations (oblationes facere) but not according to the Romans.

VIII. Concerning the Customs of the Greeks and Romans

1. On the Lord's Day, the Greeks and Romans may sail and ride horses; they may not bake bread or ride in carriages except to church; nor do they bathe.

2. The Greeks do not write in public on the Lord's Day, but in case of necessity do their writing at home.

VII,1. Laodicea, c.44; Nimes, c.2 (394); Decr. syn. Gelasii (494).

3. The Greeks and Romans furnish their slaves with clothes but they work them without a Sunday's rest.
4. Greek monks do not have slaves; the Romans have them.
5. The Romans eat after Nones on the day before the Lord's Natal Day, i.e. the vigil of the Christ-Mass; the Greeks, however, say Vespers and the Mass first.
6. The Greeks and the Romans hold that they ought to visit those who are sick with the plague just as in the case of other sick people, as the Lord commanded.
7. The Greeks do not feed pigs with the flesh of dead animals; however, they allow their skins and furs to be used for shoes and likewise their wool and horns; but such are not permissible for any sacred purpose.
8. The head and feet may be washed on the Lord's Day; but this washing of the feet is not the custom of the Romans.

IX. Concerning the Communion of the Scots and Britons Who Do Not Observe the Catholic Easter and Tonsure

1. Those who have been ordained by Scots or British bishops, who have not the Catholic Easter or tonsure, are not in communion with the Church, but they must be confirmed again with the imposition of hands by a Catholic bishop.
2. Similarly also churches which have been consecrated by the same bishops are to be asperged with exorcized water and reconsecrated with a collect.
3. We do not have license to give them chrism or Eucharist at their request, unless they have previously voluntarily confessed that they wish to join with us and be in unity with the Church. Similarly, anyone among these people or anyone else who has doubts concerning his own baptism should be baptized.

X. Concerning the Casting Out of a Devil

1. If a man be vexed by a devil and runs about not knowing what he is doing and kills himself, he ought to be prayed for whatever the cause if previously he was a religious.

2. If he has acted out of desperation or fear or for some unknown cause, we leave the judgement to God and do not presume to pray for him.
3. It is not permissible to celebrate Masses for a suicide, but he may be prayed for and alms may be given for him.
4. If a Christian, suddenly seized with an attack, loses his mind or becomes insane and kills himself, some are accustomed to celebrate Masses for him.
5. In resisting a devil it is permissible to cast stones and herbs at him but [this must be done] without incantations.

XI. Concerning the Use and Non-Use of Animals

1. Animals which have been lacerated by wolves or dogs are not to be eaten, nor is a stag or a goat which is found dead, unless by chance it has previously been alive and has been killed by a man.
2. Birds and other animals which have been strangled in nets are not to be eaten by men if found injured or dead, because in the fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles it is laid down that we should abstain from fornication, from blood, from things strangled, and from idolatry.
3. Fish, however, may be eaten because they are of a different nature.
4. Horse is not prohibited; although it is not customarily eaten.
5. It is permissible to eat a hare and it is good for dysentery; while its gall mixed with pepper is good for pain.
6. If bees kill a man, they should be killed quickly; however, the honey may be eaten.

X,1. Hraban, De poenit. laic. c.6.

XI,2. Orleans, c.20 (533).

7. If, by chance, pigs eat the flesh of an animal found dead or the blood of a man, we do not believe that they should be thrown away, nor hens; therefore, pigs which have tasted human blood may be eaten.

8. But it is not permissible to eat the flesh of animals which have fed on the bodies of the dead until after a year.

9. Animals which have been polluted by human intercourse must be killed and their flesh cast to dogs; but their offspring may be used and also their skins. When, however, there is some doubt in the matter, they need not be killed.

XII. Concerning Conjugal Questions

1. Married persons shall abstain from intercourse for three nights before communicating.

2. A husband shall abstain from intercourse with his wife for forty days before Easter and throughout the Easter Octave. Thus the Apostle says: "That you may give yourself to prayer."

3. A woman should abstain from intercourse with her husband for three months before the delivery of her child and until after her purification, that is, forty days and nights whether she has given birth to a male or a female.

4. It is permissible under all circumstances for a woman to communicate whenever she is about to be delivered of a child.

5. If a man's wife commit fornication, it is permissible to divorce her and take another; that is, if a man dismisses his wife on account of fornication, she being his first wife, it is permissible for him to take another wife; she, however, if she desires to do penance for her sins may take another husband after five years.

6. A woman is not permitted to divorce her husband even if he is a fornicator, except to enter a monastery. Basil decided this.

XII,1. Hraban, De poen. laic. 34.

XII,3. Vinnianus, 46.

XII,6. Basil ad Amphil. c. 9, 21.

7. A legitimate marriage may not be dissolved without mutual consent.

8. According to the Greeks, it is legal for one party to consent to the other entering God's service in a monastery and then to marry again provided it was the first marriage. However, if it be a second marriage, it is uncanonical for one to marry again while the other is still living.

If a man has become a slave because of having committed a theft or fornication, his wife (provided it was her first marriage) may take another husband after a year. This is not permissible, however, for a digamist.

9. If a man's wife dies, he may take another after a month, It is permissible for a woman to take another husband after a year.

10. If a woman has committed adultery and her husband is unwilling to live with her, she may enter a convent if she so desires, and in such a case she may claim a fourth part of her heritage; if she does not wish to do this she may have nothing.

11. If a married woman commit adultery, she is in the power of her husband, if he wishes to be reconciled to an adulterous wife. In such a case, she cannot claim reconciliation since she belongs to her proper husband.

12. If a man and woman are married and he wishes to serve God, but she does not, or she so wishes and he does not, or if either is incapacitated by illness, with mutual consent, they may be separated.

13. A woman who vows that, on the death of her husband, she will not take another, but on his death breaks her vow and takes another, at length moved to penitence, wishes to keep her former vow, is in the power of the man whether she shall be released or not.

14. Thus, on one occasion, Theodore gave license to a woman who had admitted such a vow to marry a man after a period of eleven years.

XII,7. Cf. Novellae Iust.140.

XII,12. Novellae Iust.34.c.10.

XII,13. Novellae Iust.22.c.5.

15. If a secular clergyman makes a vow without the consent of the bishop, the bishop has power to commute the sentence, if he wishes.

16. A marriage is equally legal whether performed at day or night, as it is written: "Thine is the day and thine is the night."

17. If a Gentile dismisses his Gentile wife, after baptism, it is in his power to have her or not to have her.

18. Similarly, if one of them is baptized and the other is a Gentile: for as the Apostle said: "If the unbeliever depart, let him go." Therefore, any wife who is an unbeliever and a Gentile, and cannot be converted, let her be dismissed.

19. If a woman leaves her husband because she despises him, and does not wish to return and be reconciled with the man, with the consent of the bishop, he is permitted to take another after five years.

20. If [it is the case of] a wife who has been taken captive by the enemy, and cannot be redeemed, the husband may take another after a year.

21. If she has been taken captive, the husband ought to wait five years; similarly also a wife in the case of the same things happening to her husband.

22. If, therefore, a man takes another wife and the first one is recovered from captivity, he may dismiss the second one; As we said above, similarly also a wife in the case of the same thing happening to her husband.

23. If a man's wife is abducted by the enemy and he is unable to get her back, he may take another. It is better to do this than to commit fornication.

24. If a woman return afterwards, she ought not to be received by him if he has another wife; but let her take another husband, if she had one previously. The same judgement stands in the case of foreign slaves.

XII,20. Vinnianus,44,45.

XII,22. Novellae Iust.22.67.

25. According to the Greeks, as it is written in the law, marriage is permitted between those in the third degree of affinity. According to the Romans, [marriage is permitted] to the fourth degree. However, the latter do not dissolve a marriage in the fourth degree if it is an accomplished fact. Therefore, they are regularly united in the fifth degree but in the fourth they are not separated if the marriage has already taken place.

26. After the death of her husband, a woman may not take another who is related to him in the third degree of affinity.

27. Similarly, a man may not be joined in marriage with his blood relations, or to the blood relations of his wife after her death.

28. Two brothers may marry two sisters and a father and son a mother and daughter.

29. A husband who sleeps with his wife should wash himself before entering church.

30. A husband also ought not to view his wife nude.

31. If a man has sexual relations or wives which are not permitted [under normal conditions], it is nevertheless legal for him to retain them, inasmuch as the prophet said: "The earth is the Lord's and its fullness."

32. If a man and woman join themselves in matrimony, but afterwards the woman discovers from her husband that he cannot effect intercourse with her, if it can be proved that it is true, she may take another.

33. It is not permissible for parents to give an engaged girl to another man unless she resists them altogether. However, she may go into a convent if she wishes.

34. If, however, once married, she does not wish to live with the man to whom she has been united, the money which he gave for her must be returned to him plus a third more; if he, however, decline her, he loses the money which he gave for her.

35. A girl sixteen years old has power over her own body.

36. A boy is in the power of his father up to the age of fifteen; after that he can make himself a monk; a girl, however, who was previously in the power of her parents, [must wait] until sixteen or seventeen years old. After this age, the father is not permitted to give his daughter in marriage against her will.

XIII. Concerning Slaves and Bond-Servants

1. A father, if driven by necessity, has the right to indenture his son at the age of seven; after that age it must be with the son's consent.

2. At fourteen, a man may make himself a slave.

3. It is not permitted for a man to take money from his slave--money, that is, which the slave himself has earned by his won labour.

4. If a man marries his male and female slave to one another and afterwards either of them is free from bondage, if the one in servitude cannot be redeemed, it is permissible for the other to marry a free person.

5. If a free man marries a female slave, he has not the right to divorce her, if previously they have been joined by mutual consent.

6. If any man marry a pregnant woman who is free, the child born of her is free.

7. In the case of a pregnant slave who is given her freedom, the child whom she bears shall be in servitude.

XIV. Miscellaneous Questions

1. There are three fasts of obligation required of people annually: the forty days before Easter (when the annual tithes are paid), the forty days before the Lord's Birth, and the forty days and nights after Pentecost.

XII,33. Novellae Iust.c.22.

XII,37. Basil ad Amphil.g.18.

2. He who fasts for a dead man, only aids himself. God alone has knowledge of the dead.
 3. Laymen ought not to delay in fulfilling their promises, since death does not delay.
 4. Under no circumstances is a servant of God permitted to fight. Conciliation is the duty of the servants of God.
 5. An infant may be exchanged for another infant who has been dedicated to a monastery; however, it is better to fulfill the vow.
 6. Cattle of equal value may be exchanged if necessary.
 7. A king who takes possession of another king's land may give it in behalf of his own soul.
 8. What is found along the wayside may be retained but if the owner is found it must be returned.
 9. The tribute of the Church is to be distributed according to the custom of the province; however, the poor are not to be forced to pay their tithe or other debts.
 10. It is not legal to give tithes away except to the poor and pilgrims, except by laymen to their own churches.
 11. Out of reverence for [the mystery of] Regeneration prayers should be said in white vestments on Pentecost as when one prays on Quinquagesima.
 12. A prayer may be said under a veil if necessary.
 13. It is permissible for the sick to take food and drink at all hours whenever they desire it or are able, if they cannot take nourishment at the proper hours.
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APPENDIX FIVE
A NINETEENTH-CENTURY CATENA OF SOURCE MATERIAL
ON THEODORE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
BY C.F.ROSSHIRT

1. Liber Pontificalis: In Vita Vitaliani Papae.

2. Aimonius: De Gestis Francorum, Lib. 4, cap. 32.

Constantini Imper. temporibus Vitalianus Papa Theodorum Archiepiscopum et Hadrianum Abbatem in Britanniam direxit ad corroborandum, quam B. Gregorius in Anglorum gente severat, fidei Christiani segetem.

ZKQ, 112.

3. Ado: In Chronicis, Anno DCXLI.

Constantinus filius Constantini Imper. ann. 28. Vitalianus Papa Theodorum Archiepiscopum et Hadrianum Abbatem virum sanctum atque doctissimum in Britanniam mittit, qui plurimas ecclesias Anglorum doctrina ecclesiastica fecundarunt. Constantinus Imp. indict. 12. et paulo post: Vitellianus Papa (obit) ann. DCLXIX. Constantinus filius Constantini superioris ann. 17

ZKQ, 112.

4. Bede: Historia Ecclesiastica, IV, etc.

5. Regino: In Chronicis, Anno Dom. Incarnationis DCLXXVI.

Constantinus filius Constanti, filii Heraclii, regnavit ann. 28.

Ex post alia: Per id tempus Theodorus archiepiscopus et Hadrianus Abbas doctissimus a Vitaliano Papa missi sunt in Britanniam, plurimasque ecclesias Anglorum doctrinae Apostolicae fruge fecundavit. E quibus Theodorus Archiepiscopus peccantium iudicia, quantis scilicet annis pro uno quoque peccato quis poenitere debeat, mirabili et discreta consideratione describit.

ZKQ, 112.

6. Sigbertus: a direct borrowing from Bede.
7. Ioannes Tritthenhemius: De Scriptor. Eccles.

Theodorus septimus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis a Vitelliano Papa consecratus, natione Graecus ex Tarso Ciliciae monachus ordinis nostri in urbe Romana: vir in divinis scripturis eruditissimus, et in saecularibus litteris nulli suo tempore secundus, Graeco et Latino sermone peritissimus. Carmine quoque excellens et prosa, et non minus sanctitate quam scientia clarus: habita synodo in Anglia, multa ad Anglicanae ecclesiae utilitatem constituit. Scripsit autem inter caetera ingenii sui monumenta egregium opus de qualitate poenitentiae injungendae de his, qui in multis criminibus deliquissent, cujus operis titulus est: Poenitentiale Theodori, et epistola ad diversos. Moritur non sine opinione sanctitatis sub Justiniano minore Imper. ann. DCXC. Ind. 3 aetatis 78.(sic) Episcopatus 22.

De Viris Illustr. Ordin. S. Bened., Lib. 2. Cap. 18.

Theodorus monachus Romanus natione Graecus a Vitelliano Papa septimus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in Anglia destinatus, vir in divinis scripturis valde eruditus, et in observantur catholicae traditionis studiosissimus, habita synodo in Anglia multa ad utilitatem ecclesiae constituit. De cujus laude sanctissimusque laboribus Beda in 4 et 5 Eccles. Hist. pluries fecit, mentionem. Scripsit autem librum de poenitentiae qualitate notabilem, quem Gratianus Decreti compiler saepe allegat. Moritur ann. Dom. DCXC. Indict. 3. aetatis suae 88. Pontif. 22.

De eodem Lib. 3 Cap. 114 et 115.

Addit ex Tarso Ciliciae, et sanctus appellatur, ut etiam sanctus Hadrianus ejus comes Abbas Heridanensis coenobii non longe a Neapoli Campaniae, natione Afer.

ZKQ, 113.

8. Rabanus as quoted in Rosshirt with the latter's observations. Epist. Ad Humbertum Episcopum.

Rabanus in epist. ad Humbertum Episcopum, quota licitum sit connubium: Similiter et in Theodori Archiepiscopi gentis Anglorum capitulis, quae de necessariis rebus conscripsit, invenimus, quod in tertia propinquitate carnis secundum Graecos liceat nubere; in quinta vero secundum Romanos.

Et postea: Hunc autem Theodorum Tharso Ciliciae natum Vitellianus Papa Romae Episcopum ordinans, Britanniam misit; unde etiam Orientalium ecclesiarum consuetudinibus pleniter institutus fuerat, nec eum aliqua latere potuerant, quae in observationibus legitimis Graeci vel Romani eo tempore habuerunt, maxime eum in utraque lingua perfecta instructus esset.

ZKQ, 113.

Rosshirt also provides the following "censura" of the Theodoran Penitential.

Hic primus videtur apud Latinos de poenitentia scripsisse: quem sequutus est Beda ejus fortasse discipulus. Sumpsit poenitentias Theodorus Graecus ex Basilio et aliis Graecis patribus, ita videtur eorum acerbiter ac severitatem sequi quae res effecit, ut paulatim haec ratio puniendi delicta abolita sit. Sed male in contraria lapsi sumus: ut dum acerbiter fugimus, favemus morbis, vel fovemus potius haec crimina impunitate data.

ZKQ, 114.

C.F. ROSSHIRT ZKQ

Zu den Kirchenrechtlichen
Quellen des ersten Jahrtausends

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APPENDIX SIX

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